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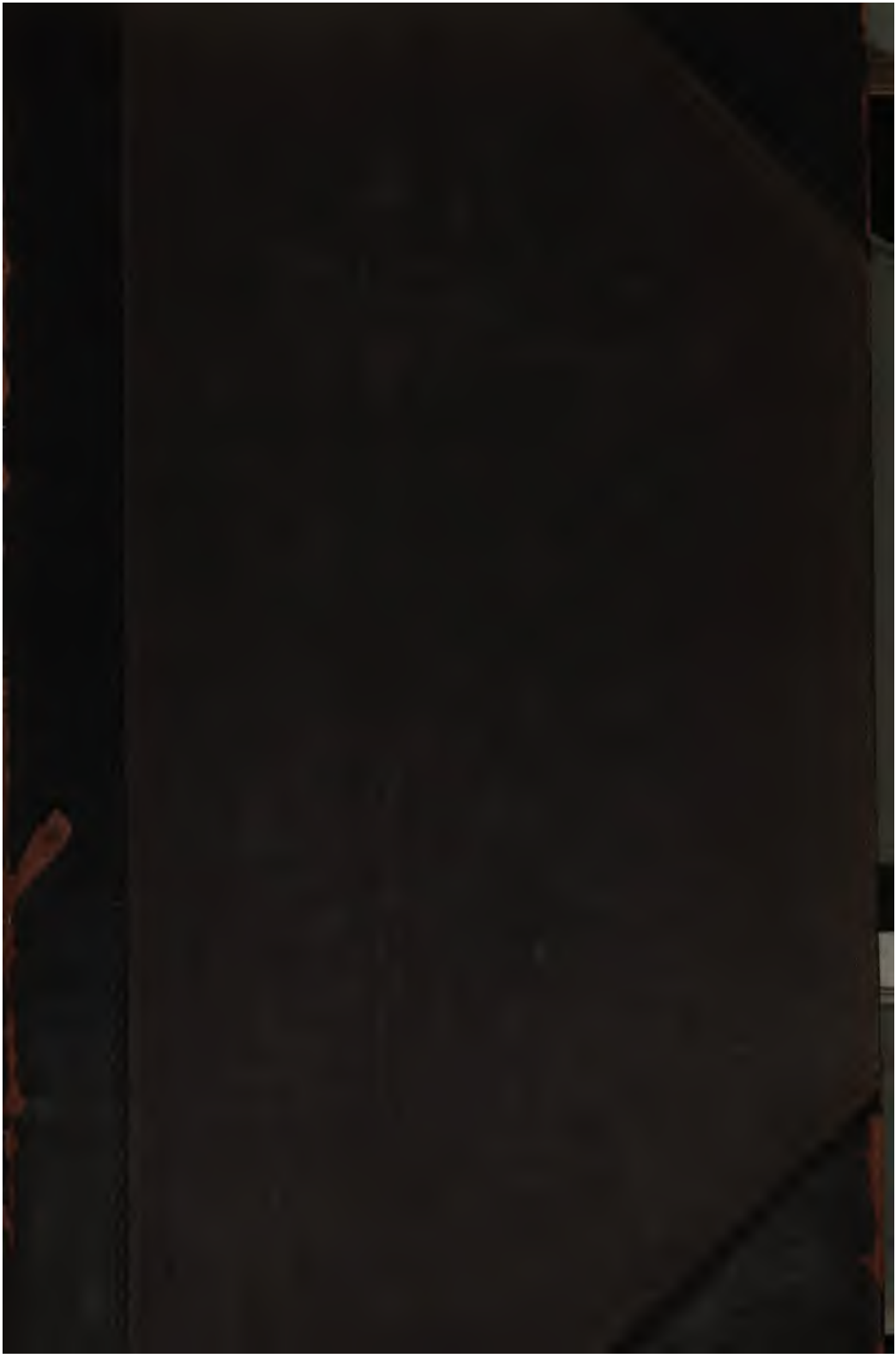

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CHRISTIAN MISSIONS.

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CHRISTIAN MISSIONS:

THEIR AGENTS,
THEIR METHOD, AND THEIR RESULTS;

BY

T. W. M. MARSHALL.

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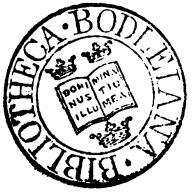
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CHAPTER I.

THE BIBLE AND THE HEATHEN.

Writers of various nations have remarked, with surprise or indignation according to their temper, that the Russian Church, the least distinguished by a missionary spirit of all christian communities, not only fails to convert the heathen tribes subject to the empire, but does not always even wish to do so. It suits, they say, the secular policy of the Czar, for reasons which shall be noticed hereafter, to leave them to their idols. The clergy of Russia — as Tourgeneff, Haxthausen, and others relate — have no disposition for such labours; the state — as Theiner, Dr Moritz Wagner, and many more have shown — sternly forbids others to supply the defect. « Every catholic priest, » says Dr Wagner, « who attempts to con-

vert an idolater, is threatened with transportation to Siberia. » (1)

This policy, once adopted by England and Holland in their Asiatic possessions, but long since abandoned by both, is now peculiar to Russia among all the nations of the earth. No similar reproach can be urged, even by those who esteem them least, against the protestant churches of England and America. *They* have done, during the last fifty years, and are still doing, all which their zeal suggests and their caution permits, to recommend to the heathen world the religious systems which they severally profess. How far they have succeeded in this aim, and by what methods they have sought to promote it, will sufficiently appear in the following pages.

The administration of many of the missionary societies both of Great Britain and America may be compared, as respects the number of their agents and the magnitude of their resources, to the machinery which exists for the government of some of the secondary states of Europe. Their emissaries are reckoned by thousands, and their revenues by millions. It is the boast of their directors and advocates that the world has never before witnessed the application of such means to such an end. « The apostles would have triumphed, » says an American writer, alluding to the multitude of protestant missionaries, « at such an array of champions. » « The first preachers of the Gospel, » he adds, referring to their vast material resources, « lacked all these advantages. » (2)

(1) *Travels in Persia*, etc., vol. II, ch. III, p. 204, English edition.

(2) Dr Stephen Olin, *Works*, vol. II, p. 347; 1853.

A single English society, we are told, consumes, « in its home expenditure alone, » about forty thousand pounds annually, « before one native is converted, or even sees a missionary. That is to say, nearly one fourth of the whole income of a society maintained for the purpose of spreading the light of the Gospel in heathen countries is spent in England before one preacher has embarked on his mission. » (1)

The prodigality of the Church Missionary Society is imitated, in various measures, by a multitude of institutions of the same class. Thus a well known religious corporation, the British and Foreign Bible Society, distributes ten thousand pounds annually « in the one article of salaries. »

It would be tedious to multiply these examples, of which an eminent Anglican clergyman has lately analysed the most conspicuous. « Maintenance *at home* of missionaries and their families, » he observes, cost a single society, in one year, more than sixteen thousand pounds. « The large staff of well-paid officers, » he adds, « whose existence depends upon the success of this system, » absorb for their personal share 25 per cent. of all the vast revenues administered by the societies; (2) and when their claims are satisfied, the rest goes to the heathen, or rather to their European teachers, with results which the facts to be disclosed in these pages will enable us to appreciate.

It is perhaps worthy of observation, that while the Protestant Societies are said to consume more than a quarter of a million sterling per annum, and *one*

(1) *The Times*, January 18, 1860.
(2) S. G. O.; *The Times*, January 17, and April 19, 1860.

of them forty thousand pounds, in purely domestic expenditure; the entire administration of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, the sole missionary organisation of the Catholic Church, (1) — including « travelling expenses, salaries, office expenses, rent, registers, and postage of the correspondence with Missions over the whole globe, » — cost in the year 1858 rather less than sixteen hundred pounds. (2)

The foreign, as might be anticipated, is still more profuse than the domestic expenditure of missionary bodies. In Tahiti, and the contiguous Islands, the English missionaries had already received and spent « more than one hundred thousand pounds sterling » nearly thirty years ago; (3) with no other result, as we shall learn hereafter, than to destroy two thirds of the native population, and to deprive the rest both of their humble goods and of their natural virtues. In New Zealand, the Wesleyans alone had consumed eighty thousand pounds before 1844, and probably twice as much since. (4) Twenty years ago, the Church Missionary Society were spending in the same remote dependency more than fourteen thousand a year, though their staff only consisted of eight missionaries and sixteen catechists; (5) and as early as 1838 the total expenditure of the same society in that

(1) The Leopoldine Society of Austria works only in a narrow field, and with inconsiderable resources.

(2) *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, May 1859; nº 120, p. 157.

(3) *Asiatic Journal*, vol. VIII, p. 107; new series.

(4) Brown's, *New Zealand*, app. p. 273.

(5) *New Zealand, Its Advantages and Prospects*, by Charles Terry, F. R. S.. p. 189.

island *already* amounted to two hundred thousand pounds. (1) In Hindostan, the cost of missionary operations, exclusive of the immense expenditure by the Anglo-Indian establishment, has long exceeded two hundred thousand a year, besides an equal sum consumed in educational projects. The mere « travelling expenses » of Protestant missionaries to the East amounted, as long ago as 1839, to « two hundred and sixty thousand pounds. » (2) Even in Australia, more than fifty thousand pounds had been exhausted in missions twenty years ago, though not a solitary native had been converted at that date, nor has been converted since. (3)

The profusion of which these are only a few examples, and which appears to augment year by year, is successfully emulated on the other side of the Atlantic. The American Board of Foreign Missions expended, in a few years, in the single island of Ceylon, as Lord Torrington reported to his government, « upwards of one hundred thousand pounds. » (4) In the southern provinces of Armenia, as one of their friends relates, five American missionnaries dispose of « about fifty thousand dollars annually ; » while others consume in their missions in Turkey « three times that amount, » (5) or thirty

(1) Dr Thomson's, *New Zealand*, vol. I, part. 2, ch. IV, p. 313.

(2) *Travels in S. Eastern Asia*, by the Revd Howard Malcolm, vol. II, p. 279.

(3) *History of N. S. Wales*, by T. H. Braim esq., Principal of Sydney College. vol. II, ch. VI, p. 237.

(4) *Ceylon, Past And Present*, by Sir George Barrow, ch. VII, p. 162.

(5) Wagner's *Travels in Persia* etc. vol. III, ch. VIII.

thousand pounds per annum. In the distant solitudes of Oregon, *one* of their sects spent « forty two thousand dollars in a single year, » though the mission was subsequently abandoned, and only « inflicted painful disappointment upon the society and its supporters. » (1) Even in the remote islands of which Honolulu is the modest capital, the same class of agents had received, up to 1853, more than fifty thousand pounds in salaries alone; and the total « cost of missionary enterprise » in that obscure group already exceeded, by the same date, nine hundred thousand dollars. (2)

We need not, however, anticipate here the almost incredible details which are periodically revealed in missionary reports, and which shall be referred to in their proper place. The English or American reader, familiar with facts which powerfully appeal to his religious instincts, is not without information on this subject. He knows, for he has eagerly examined such statistics, that « the working capital » of missionary societies in the British Isles alone, « is not less, year by year, than *two millions of money* (3). » If it were twice as much, the sum would not appear to him extravagant. It is only when the estimate of these enormous revenues, spread over a number of years, and viewed in an aggregate form, is presented to his notice, that he begins to be startled. And certainly no one can receive with indifference the amazing statement, unparalleled in the annals of religion, that, during the present century,

(1) Dr Olin's *Works*, vol. II, p. 427.
(2) *Sandwich Island Notes*, by A. Haolé, app. p. 483.
(3) *The Times*, April 19, 1860.

England and America alone — omitting Germany, Switzerland, and all the protestant states of northern Europe — have expended in the work of missions, including the distribution of bibles and tracts, at least *forty millions sterling.*

One of the objects proposed in the following pages is to trace the results of this vast expenditure, in all parts of the world, and to examine, chiefly by the testimony of those who control and direct it, what proportion there is between those results and the means employed to obtain them. Nor can this be deemed a capricious or needless enquiry even by those who wisely maintain, that the salvation of a single soul cannot be purchased at too great a price. It is precisely the incomparable dignity of the object in view which justifies the proposed enquiry, and lends to it all its interest. And when we find it asserted by grave and impartial writers, members of various Protestant communities, that the general result of such costly efforts has been undeniable failure; nay even, in too many cases, that « the European teachers of the heathen have to answer for more evil than will ever be compensated by their most zealous services; » (1) we are still further stimulated to pursue an investigation which, if fairly and honestly conducted, will test the accuracy of such formidable statements. If we « compare the visible results obtained, » says a Protestant writer who has devoted special attention to this subject, « with the multiplied machinery, urgency of appeal, and vast expenditure,

(1) *Polynesia and New Zealand*, by the Rt Rev^{d} M. Russell, ch. III, p. 113; 2^{d} edition, 1843.

with which the missions are prosecuted, it must be owned that they are greatly disproportionate. » (1) And this temperate assertion is only too amply confirmed, as we shall see in the course of these pages, by a great cloud of witnesses, of all ranks and sects; so that the organ of one of the most influential schools of Protestant opinion in England does not scruple to declare, in the year 1859, that « we should not allow a few isolated instances of success, here and there, to blind us to what we must call, to speak plainly, *the failure of missionary efforts in modern times.* » (2)

It is our purpose to trace, in every region of the earth, both the fact of this admitted failure and its cause; and in this attempt we shall be assisted, almost exclusively, by the evidence of Protestant witnesses of all classes and creeds, — English and American, German and French, Swedish and Dutch; historians and naturalists, civil and military officials, tourists and merchants, chaplains and missionaries. And whatever may be the difficulty of the task, however tedious the research which it involves, it must be admitted that an English writer enjoys peculiar facilities in collecting the materials for such a work. Not only is the noble passion of travel and adventure the special characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon race, so as to make them a kind of marvel in the eyes of languid and incurious foreigners; but the same restless energy which impels them to wander in all lands, fording every river and scaling every mountain, almost inva-

(1) *Bampton Lectures for* 1843, by Anthony Grant, D. C. L., ch. VI, p. 214.

(2) *Christian Remembrancer*, vol. XXXVII, p. 69.

riably issues in a book, more or less accurate and instructive, in which the impressions of the traveller are recorded. It was the examination of many such volumes, and the astonishing unanimity of their authors, in spite of the diversity of their religious opinions, in one point alone, which first suggested the idea and the scheme of the work which is now offered to the reader. Viewed simply as contributions to literature, it is sometimes possible to dispute the value and importance of the compositions referred to; but considered in another aspect, this army of active and voluble tourists, clerical and lay, may be regarded as witnesses employed by Divine Providence, without their knowledge or concurrence, to detect and announce to the world a fact which the eager passions and prejudices of men would otherwise combine to conceal. It is this fact, momentous in itself, and in the conclusions which it peremptorily suggests, which we are about to demonstrate, by impartial and conclusive testimony. And if we may anticipate that testimony, as it refers to the eight geographical spheres of missionary enterprise into which this work will be divided, it is briefly summed up in the following statements, each of which will receive hereafter the careful development and minute illustration which its importance demands.

1. *China.* « The attempts of Protestant bodies to evangelise China, » said the author of the Bampton Lectures for 1843, « have signally failed. » (1) Whoever asserts, added Mr Wingrove Cooke, in 1858, « that the Protestant missionaries are making

(1) *Ubi supra.*

sincere Chinese Christians, must be either governed by a delusion, or guilty of frand. » (1)

2. *India.* « You have made no progress at all, either with the Hindoo or the Mahometan, » said Sir James Brooke, in 1858, before a meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; « you are just where you were the very first day that you went to India. » (2) « Every gate seems to have been shut, » cries M^r^ Clarkson, himself a missionary, « every channel damned up, by which gospel streams might force their way. » (3) While of the nominal converts, M^r^ Irving asserts, in concert with a hundred Anglo-Indian writers, that « their lax morality shocks the feelings of even their heathen countrymen. » (4)

3. *Ceylon.* « The greater part of the Singhalese, whom I designate nominal christians of the Reformed Religion, » says the Rev. W. Harvard, a Wesleyan missionary, « are little more than christians by baptism. » (5) By far the greater part, « observes the Rev. James Selkirk, an Anglican missionary, live as if they had no souls. » (6) « Disappointment was felt in nearly every department of the mission, » says D^r^ Brown, once more, in 1854. (7) « All ac-

(1) *China*, by George Wingrove Cooke, ch. XI, p. 181.

(2) *The Times*, September 29, 1858.

(3) *India and the Gospel*, by the Rev^d^ William Clarkson, lecture V, p. 221.

(4) *The Theory and Practice of Caste*, by B. A. Irving esq., p. 146.

(5) *A narrative of the Mission to Ceylon*, introd., p. 61.

(6) *Recollections of Ceylon*, ch. VII, p. 217.

(7) *History of the Propagation of Christianity among the*

counts agree in reporting unfavourably, » adds the Rev. Mr Tupper in 1856. (1) While Mr Pridham goes still further, and deplores, in energetic language, that « Christianity has made but *lee-way*. » (2)

4. *The Antipodes*. Of Australia Dr Lang reported, in 1852, « There is no well authenticated case of the conversion of a black native to Christianity; » (3) and Mr Minturn sorrowfully added, in 1858, « All missionary efforts among them have failed. » (4)

Of New Zealand Mr Fox declared, in 1851, « With most of the natives Christianity is a mere name, entirely inoperative in practice. » (5) In 1859, Dr Thomson still repeats that it is only « a rude mixture of paganism and the cross. » (6) Mr Wakefield, who is confirmed by a multitude of witnesses, adds the gloomy statement, that the converted natives « are distinctly inferior in point of moral character to the unconverted heathen; » (7) and another Protestant authority attests the colonial verdict, that « they are generally speaking distinguished from the uncon-

Heathen, by the Revd William Brown, M. D., vol. I, p. 515, 3d edition.

(1) *Out and Home*, by the Revd W. G. Tupper, M. A., p. 128.

(2) *Ceylon and its Dependencies*, by Charles Pridham esq., vol. I, part. 3, ch. VII, p. 441.

(3) *History of New South Wales*, by John Dunmore Lang, D D, ch. XI, p. 509.

(4) *From New York to Delhi*, by Robert B. Minturn Junr, ch. III, p. 24.

(5) *The Six Colonies of New Zealand*, p. 82.

(6) *New Zealand*, vol. I, ch. IV, p. 317.

(7) *Adventure in New Zealand*, by Edward Jerningham Wakefield esq., vol. I, ch. II, p. 11.

verted natives as rogues, thieves, and liars. » (1)

5. *Oceanica*. Of the Society Islands a writer in the Asiatic Journal reported, as long ago as 1832, that « the presence of the missionaries has been productive of more mischief than good. » (2) Mr Pridham announced, seventeen years later, that they had only « added a plague to the evils which they had come to cure. » (3) The Rev. Mr Hines confessed in 1851 the immorality and indifference of their disciples in the Sandwich Islands, « from the hut of the most degraded menial to the royal palace. » (4) Mr Herman Melville deplored almost at the same date « their utter disregard of all decency. » (5) Commodore Wilkes discovered that even their catechists were « ignorant of most of the duties enjoined upon a Christian. » (6) Caplain Laplace lamented that they had only made the natives « dirty, brutalised, cheats, and liars; » (7) and fifty authors assert, as we shall learn hereafter, that the condition of the other Islands of the Pacific is still worse.

6. *Africa*. In Western Africa Mr Tracy reckons « eighteen Protestant missionary attempts, without counting Sierra Leone and Goree, all of which failed. » (8) Mr Brodie Cruickshank reports of the

(1) *Letters from Wanganui*, p. 35; (1845).
(2) *Asiatic Journal*, vol. VIII, p. 106.
(3) *Ceylon*, etc., vol. I, p. 444.
(4) *Life on the Plains of the Pacific*, ch. XIII, p. 253.
(5) *The Marquesas Islands*, app. p. 285.
(6) *United States Exploring Expedition*, vol. I, ch. XV, p. 328.
(7) *Campagne de circumnavigation de la frégate l'Artémise*, tome V, ch. IV, p. 389.
(8) Quoted in Howitt's *Colonization and Missions*, p. 34.

converts on the Gold Coast, « there are very few exceptions to a general relapse into immorality; » (1) and Mr Duncan candidly declares of those in Dahomey, that the education given by the missionaries « is only the means of enabling them to become more perfect in villainy. » (2)

Of the *Kaffirs* in South Africa Major Dundas reported, in 1835, to the House of Commons, « I believe the missionaries have hardly christianised a single individual. » (3) Twenty three years later, in 1858, the Rev. Mr Calderwood declared once more, « the Kaffirs may be said to have refused the Gospel. » (4)

In 1852, we find Mr Cole asserting of the *Hottentots*, that « out of every hundred Christians, so called, ninety-nine are utterly ignorant of any correct notion of a future state; » (5) and Mr Moodie declares, from his own observation, —like Sir James Alexander, Colonel Napier, Mr Bunbury, Captain Aitchison, and many more, — « It is notorious that the Hottentots who have resided for any time at the missionary stations are generally the most idle and worthless of their nation. (6)

In north and east Africa, it is not even alledged that any converts have been made.

7. *The Levant, Syria, and Armenia.* Of the

(1) *Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast of Africa*, vol. II, p. 73.
(2) *Travels in Western Africa*, vol. II, ch. XIII, p. 303.
(3) *Parliamentary Papers*, vol. VII, p. 142; (British Museum).
(4) *Caffres and Caffre Missions*, ch. VII, p. 96.
(5) *The Cape and the Kafirs*, ch. VIII, p. 145.
(6) *Ten Years in South Africa*, vol. II, ch. XIV, p. 292.

Missionaries in the Levant Sir Adolphus Slade says, in 1854, after many years of personal observation, — « Their utter unprofitableness cannot be sufficiently pointed out. » (1) Of those in Greece Dr Hawes reports, they « have felt themselves obliged, for the present, to withdraw, in a great measure, from this field » — which means, as we shall see, that they were expelled by the people. (2) Of Jerusalem Lord Castlereagh tells us, « the bishop has scarcely a congregation besides his chaplains, his doctor, and their families » (3) Mr Williams deplores, though himself a missionary, « the serious errors in the faith, and scandalous irregularities in the practice, of the ill instructed members » of this very congregation. (4) Dr Southgate, an American Protestant bishop, candidly admits, that the only Protestant converts throughout Turkey and the Levant are « infidels and radicals who deserve no sympathy from the Christian public. » (5) And Dr Wagner declares, after careful examination, that « the expensive establishments in Armenia have made no converts. (6)

8. *America.* Finally, the learned author of the Natural History of Man warns his readers not to venture upon any « comparison » between the success of Missions to the aboriginal races of North and South

(1) *Records of Travel in Turkey, Greece*, etc., ch. XXVII, p. 517.

(2) *Travels in the East*, by I. Hawes, D. D., p. 168.

(3) *Journey to Damascus*, vol. II, ch. XIX, p. 111.

(4) *The Holy City*, p. 593.

(5) See *Christianity in Turkey*, by Revd H. J. O. Dwight, ch. X, p. 244.

(6) *Travels*, etc., vol. III, ch. VIII.

America, because their history reveals a contrast so portentous that, as he frankly admits, « it must be allowed to cast a deep shade upon the history of Protestantism. » (1)

These various *dicta*, emphatic as they are, only faintly represent, as the sequel will abundantly prove, the mass of perfectly coincident testimony, offered by men of all nations and creeds, which will be found in the several chapters composing this work. The serious facts which they disclose deserve the religious attention of thoughtful men, and we might now proceed at once to examine them in detail, but that there is one point which we are compelled to eliminate from the general discussion, and which may be most conveniently noticed in this place.

In comparing, as we are about to do, the influence of Catholic and Protestant Missions in all parts of the world, in order to apply to the Church and the Sects a new and supreme test which could not have been employed at an earlier date, it is evident that, besides the momentous question of *results*, two main points must occupy our attention, — the *character* of their respective agents, and the *method* of their operations. The first will receive copious illustration in the course of these volumes, the second must be considered here.

The most obvious distinction, amounting to a direct contrast, between the two classes of missionaries, is found in the instrument which they respectively employ in their attempts to convert the heathen. The Catholic Missionary, imitating the example of

(1) Prichard, section 44, p. 427.

St-Paul and St-Barnabas,—often receiving no salary, and always less than the wages of a common labourer, — presents himself without fear before the pagan crowd, and in spite of menaces, stripes, and death, announces to them, by word of mouth, « the lively oracles of God. » During twenty, thirty, or forty years, he accepts without repugnance a life of poverty and toil; and if the instruments of torture are one day arrayed before his eyes, he is so far from contemplating them with surprise or dismay, that he has often begged as a special favour from God, before entering upon the apostolic career, that he might be deemed worthy of this very trial. He has dared to ask that he might find grace to resemble his Master, not only in the tenor of his life, but even in the agony of his death. Many examples will teach us, in the course of these pages, how such petitions are answered.

The Protestant Missionary, on the other hand, encumbered for the most part by domestic ties, and busy with the incessant precautions which they suggest and justify, — for the claims of a wife and family are sufficiently sacred and imperious to precede all others, — naturally declines to enter upon a course so dangerous and difficult, and relies chiefly upon the circulation of the Holy Scriptures, or of religious tracts, which he scatters along the coast, or despatches into the interior, and then leaves to produce their own effect. In many countries, and especially in China and the Levant, the action of Protestant Missionaries has been almost entirely limited to this distribution of books; although, as one of their own body observes, after an experience

prolonged through several years, — « It seems of little use to give books profusely without abundant personal preaching; » an opinion which he confirms by the forcible remark, — « It is quite evident too that the Apostles proceeded in this manner. » (1)

In spite of this impressive fact, Protestants have been reluctant to abandon their favourite method, and still more to admit that it has failed. It is true, as even they have confessed, that the project of converting the heathen by the circulation of books derives no sanction from the *Acts of the Apostles;* and that it was a widely different system of missionary effort which, in less than three centuries, converted the Roman world to Christianity. *That* system derived its supernatural force from the fertilising blood of martyrs. St. John the Baptist, the first preacher of penance, was a martyr. All the Apostles, save one, were martyrs. Fifty-two Roman Pontiffs, in lineal succession from St. Peter, gave their lives for the Faith. The only three great names in the first age of Christianity which are not, as it were, written in blood, are those of the Blessed Virgin, St. Mary Madgdalene, and St. John, who alone stood at the foot of the Cross, and had *their* martyrdom in witnessing that sight. Christianity was preached and founded in blood. The very profession of the true Missionary was, and still is, to *die* for the salvation of souls. By no other process has the Gospel conquered the world. And this necessity was implied and foreshadowed in the Great Atonement. « *Sine sanguinis effusione non fit remis-*

(1) *Travels in S. Eastern Asia*, by the Rev^d Howard Malcolm. vol. II, ch. II, p. 160.

sio. » (1) The apostles of the Crucified, if they would resemble Him, must be clothed « with dyed garments, » crimsoned, like the seamless robe of their Master, with their own blood. « It is not to Thabor that Jesus invites you, » cries a modern missionary to some who were contemplating the apostolic life, « but to Calvary, and to death. » (2) He had a right to say it, for he was himself a member of a society which, in less than a century, gave more than four hundred martyrs to the Church. And so far is this immutable law of the Christian apostolate — that the souls of the heathen can only be purchased by blood — from being reversed in our own times, that there have perhaps been more martyrdoms, as we shall see hereafter, in the last three centuries, than in any equal period since the persecutions which Tacitus would have provoked and Pliny hardly dissuaded, which successive emperors vainly renewed, and which the Roman Senate in its later days had learned to discourage, because even the heathen began to understand the mysterious truth, that « the blood of Martyrs is the seed of the Church. »

It was by the lavish outpouring, in many lands, of this precious and vivifying blood, that Christianity fought its way from Jerusalem to Rome, and from Rome to the uttermost parts of the empire. So little share had the Bible, the sole instrument of certain modern missions, in the triumphs of that tremendous conflict ; so little care had its Divine Author to provide this weapon, even as an auxiliary, in that

(1) Heb. IX, 22.
(2) *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, tome X, p. 376.

mortal strife; that it did not so much as exist, in an available form, till the battle was over and the victory won, till the successor of the Fisherman had finally dethroned the Cæsars, and planted the Cross on the Capitol which they had for ever abandoned. And this great historical fact, in which is revealed the judgment of God as to the real use and office of His word, is equally true of the later conversions, in all parts of the world, from the fourth to the nineteenth century, which owed quite as little as the holocausts of earlier days — the myriad martyrdoms of Rome, Smyrna, or Antioch — to the dispersion of the Bible. The method of the first Apostles, as well as of the successive evangelists to whom they bequeathed their mission, — of St. Paul and St. Andrew, as of St. Augustine, St. Boniface, and St. Francis, — was precisely that which is still followed by the Catholic missionary. They evidently neither knew, nor desired to know, any other. That books, however sacred and persuasive, were not the appointed instruments for such a work, is decisively proved by their scanty use or total neglect of them; but may also be inferred from the significant fact, that Providence suffered fourteen centuries to elapse, and the Church to win all her battles, before the art of printing, by which alone the Scriptures could be adequately multiplied, was revealed to man. That the Bible, however precious to Christians, was not designed by its Author even to assist in converting the heathen, is evident from these considerations, — that the world received it too late for any such purpose; that the Apostles and their successors neither made, nor wished to make, nor could have made if they had wished,

any such use if it; and lastly, that « the prodigious and almost incredible dispersion » (1) of the inspired books in modern times has utterly failed, even in a solitary instance, to accomplish that result. The Bible was not intended to convert the heathen, because all history attests that it has never done so.

The circulation of Bibles continues, however, to be the characteristic feature of Protestant missions to the heathen. The agent of Protestant missionary societies has hitherto declined to take any part in the terrible warfare of Apostles. His life belongs to his family; and when he accepts a commission in foreign lands, the shedding of blood forms no part of his contract. It is confessed, by general consent, that the obligations of a parent justify this reserve; and the world is so far from complaining that a married missionary should prefer the distribution of books to the labours and perils of the apostolate, that his own employers recommend and applaud his decision. « There can be no doubt, » says a respectable Anglican writer, « that the plan of circulating the sacred scriptures is infinitely preferable to that of a Mission where such a circulation is not a primary object. » (2) They are still, therefore, distributed in almost countless thousands to all parts of the earth, and the least change in this peculiar system of *propaganda* would deprive vast numbers of Protestant missionaries, of all nations and sects, of their only employment. It is necessary to consider, on this account, before we enter upon the

(1) Dr Grant's *Bampton Lectures*.
(2) *Christianity in India*, by J. W. Cuningham, M. A., p. 142.

immediate subject of this work, three preliminary questions, of such critical importance in estimating the character of Protestant missions, that the answer which a candid scrutiny will elicit suffices to determine absolutely, without further enquiry, their real nature and influence. The three questions which we are about to examine are these; 1° To what extent are bibles and tracts circulated by Protestant missionaries? 2° — What is the literary value of the various translations so distributed? — 3° What use do the heathen make of them? In attempting to determine the special character of missions so novel in their form and method, as well as to trace their historical results, it was impossible either to avoid or postpone this enquiry.

The British and Foreign Bible Society, whose operations we shall find to be identified with those of Protestant missions, (1) was founded in 1780. Its income, which in that year was 5,000 l., soon increased twenty-fold, and in 1791 had already reached 100,000 l. (2) But this is only one institution, though certainly the most opulent, ont of thousands established with a similar object. In every part of the British colonial possessions, from the banks of the S^{t} Laurence to the plains of Bengal, « auxiliary bible societies » exist, whose number it would be nearly impossible to define exactly, and much more their aggregate receipts. « The people of England, » says M^{r} Howitt, » spend about 170,000 l. annually in

(1) In New-York, the offices of the Bible Society and of the Board for Foreign Missions are under the same roof.

(2) *History of the B. and F. Bible Society*, by the Reverend J. Owen, M. A.

Bibles. » (1) What they spend in other countries, who can tell?

Mr Strickland, the historian of the American Bible Society, whichwas founded in 1816, and has attempted to rival the gigantic operations of the elder institution, gives a list, in 1849, of seventy « *parent* Societies, having their thousands of auxiliaries and branches. » They had, he says, already circulated versions of the Bible in one hundred and forty six languages or dialects, and the work has since been extended. So little sign, indeed, is there of any diminution either in the number or the income of these institutions, that the receipts of the English Bible Society were larger in 1858 than at any former date, amounting to nearly 155,000 l.; and they had issued during that year 1,625,985 bibles, or nearly 24,000 more than on any previous occasion. In the following year, 1859, this already enormous revenue had increased to more than 195,000 l.

In the year 1858, the subscriptions to the Church Missionary Society also exceeded 100,000 l., and had swelled in 1859 to 163,000 l.; so that *two* English institutions alone, devoted to kindred objects, had received about three hundred and sixty thousand pounds in twelve months, or nearly one thousand pounds *per diem*, and certainly not less, since their foundation, than *ten millions sterling*. When it is considered that similar societies, whose number can hardly be estimated with accuracy, exist in every Protestant state in the world, and that all of them enjoy the control of proportionate revenues; —

(1) *Colonization and Christianity*, ch. XXVI, p. 418.

the English Wesleyans alone consuming 100,000 l. annually in missions as far back as 1839, the London Missionary Society at the same date about 80,000 l., and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel having « in one year dealt with a total of more than 137,000 l.; » — so that *five* of the countless societies of Great Britain disposed of about *seven hundred thousand pounds* in a single year, of which the three last alone have consumed about seven millions *since* 1840, — we may form some conception of that vast aggregate expenditure the results of which we are to trace hereafter.

To determine the exact number of Bibles issued annually, in all languages, by Protestant agency, it would be necessary to consult the reports of thousands of societies scattered all over the earth, many of which it is impossible to obtain at a given moment. Some writers estimate the total issue, by all sects — including the Baptists, who have adopted a version of their own — at nearly one hundred million copies; yet even this is considered only a beginning. « We want one hundred and thirty million Bibles, » (1) exclaimed the Rev. Dr Plumer not long ago, as if the number already dispersed were hardly worth reckoning; and the want will no doubt be supplied. Wherever there exists a human being, savage or civilised, who does not possess a copy of the Scriptures in his own tongue, the Bible societies recognise a claimant. More than forty years ago, the directors of the American Bible Society announced that their

(1) *History of the American Bible Society*, by W. P. Strickland; app. p. 371.

aim was « the distribution of the Bible among all the accessible population of the globe, within the shortest practicable period; » and in the first twenty years, while their organisation was still incomplete, they expended more than 600,000 l., and distributed upwards of three million copies. « Four hundred and forty thousand Siamese, » says Mr Strickland, « were represented as being *ready for the Bible* in 1833. » He does not say how they manifested their readiness, and considering the singular use they have made of the Bibles already distributed to them, we may perhaps infer that the Siamese are able to wait without impatience for the rest. What is the number of Bibles which they, and other barbarians, have already received, and what they have done with them, we shall learn presently.

But it is not only Bibles which are despatched in millions to every shore, deposited by the river banks of both continents, or accumulated in vast piles in the sea-port towns of Asia and America; religious tracts also, destined to supplement and illustrate the sacred writings, are lavished upon the heathen world in still greater profusion. The Religious Tract Society of England, we are told, issued in the single year 1858 thirteen million tracts, and since its foundation *eight hundred and nineteen millions*. And this is only one of many similar institutions. Thus, the « American Tract Society » had already printed, twenty five years ago, and they have been printing ever since at an increased rate, « thirty-six millions of copies, and of the volumes nearly thirty-four millions. » The kindred society at Boston had also issued, by way of inaugurating their foundation, 14,500,740 pages; and

the writer from whom these details are borrowed gives a list of a *few* of the American societies which, in the course of a single year, had collected nearly one million dollars. (1) And even these vast revenues hardly suffice to defray the cost of operations which are on such a gigantic scale that, as Mr Putnam informs us, in a well known work, the single Society of American Missions had printed, in the course of a few years, « nearly four hundred million pages; » (2) their whole issue, between 1812 and 1861, amounting to « over one thousand five hundred million pages, » (3) or *five million volumes* of three hundred pages each. This was the almost fabulous work of *one* only of the innumerable associations employed simultaneously in all parts of the world in promoting the same design, and most of which are constantly assuming still wider proportions. Let us come to a few examples of the measure in which different countries and nations share in this distribution of bibles and tracts, the prodigious extent of which is rather obscured than explained by mere general statements. The circulation of books, we have said, is the characteristic feature of Protestant missions; let us endeavour to trace, by Protestant testimony, in all the spheres of missionary labour which we are hereafter to visit, their number, their value, and their effect.

I. In China, during the latter half of the single

(1) *Visit to the American Churches*, by Andrew Reed, D. D., vol. II, p. 166.

(2) Putnam's *American Facts*, p. 55.

(3) *Report of American Board for Foreign Missions*, 1861; quoted in *New-York Evening Express*, February 21, 1861.

year 1844, the Protestant tracts scattered amongst the natives filled more than eleven hundred thousand pages, or nearly four thousand volumes of three hundred pages each; and this, which might have satisfied the wants of a century, was only the work of a few months. Sixteen years earlier, — and the operation had continued incessantly, like the rains which came down at the Flood, during the whole interval, — Mr Gutzlaff alone, in less than twelve months, « distributed twenty three boxes full of Chinese books among the people. » (1) About the same time, Mr Medhurst, by his own account, was in the habit of giving away, at the cost of the people of England, five hundred volumes a day. Mr Tomlin also, an Anglican clergyman, and companion of Gutzlaff, writes thus to his employers; — « We are taking to Siam twenty-two good sized chests, well filled with the bread of life; » and one of his ordinary expressions, after discharging similar cargoes, was this, — « Another sowing season is just ended. » (2) Nor has this abundant sowing ever ceased, during nearly half a century, though without producing in fifty consecutive summers even the faintest symptom of a harvest. As late as 1851, we still find a Protestant missionary reporting to his employers, « I distribute about 1000 copies a year. » (3)

Already, in 1839, the Protestant missionaries, we are told, had « printed thirty thousand separate

(1) *China; Its state and Prospects*, by W. H. Medhurst, ch. XI, p. 328.

(2) *Missionary Journals and Letters*, by J. Tomlin, B. A., ch. III, p. 55.

(3) *The Chinese and General Missionary Gleaner*, vol. I, p. 45.

books of Scripture, and upwards of half a million of tracts, in the Chinese language. » At the same date they had issued « one hundred and fifty thousand tracts in the languages of the Malayan Archipelago, comprising twenty millions of printed pages. » At Canton and Malacca alone they had printed, nearly thirty years ago, *more than four hundred and fifty thousand volumes*. (1) And so utterly wasted was this enormous and costly distribution, as we shall see more fully hereafter, that a Protestant missionary honestly assures his employers, — « We have had no proofs that the thousands of books thrown among this people have excited *one* mind to enquire concerning them, have induced *one* soul to find a teacher among the foreigners in China, or have been the means of converting *one* individual. » (2) This, as their own agents freely confess, was the result in China; while as respects Malacca, another Protestant missionary frankly tells us, — « No Malay christian is to be found in the place. » (3)

Again, in Batavia, which was afterwards abandoned in despair, the English missionaries alone had distributed more than one hundred and ninety thousand volumes upwards of thirty years ago. In Pulo Pinang, where the demand might be supposed to be insignificant, forty four thousand volumes had disappeared by the same date. In Singapore alone sixty-six thousand were dispersed; though, as a missionary sadly relates in 1839, — « Not a single Malay in Singapore has made even a nominal profession of

(1) Medhurst, ch. XXII, p. 592.
(2) See Dr Brown's *Hist. Prop. of Christianity*, vol. II, p. 256.
(3) Malcolm's *Travels*, etc. vol. II, ch. II, p. 114.

Christianity, » (1) — he means of Protestantism, for he presently adds ; « The Catholics have brought over a number of Malays, Chinese, and others, and have full audiences on Sundays. » They, however, like the first Apostles, had not distributed a single tract, and probably not many bibles ; though, as Mr Medhurst acknowledges, « they translated the major part of the New Testament into Chinese. »

But we have as yet only an imperfect idea of the extent to which books have been circulated in the regions beyond the Ganges. One would have supposed that at all events a single version of the Scriptures would have satisfied the wants of the Malays, who are not generally considered ardent or critical students of literature, whether sacred or profane. But this was not the opinion of the gentlemen who administer the funds of the Bible societies. « No less than *seven* versions of the Malay scriptures have been printed, » says the Rev. Howard Malcolm, who was specially deputed to investigate and report on their subsequent fate, which he does in these candid words. » Many thousands have been distributed, but, so far as I can learn, with scarcely any perceptible benefit. I did not hear of a single Malay convert on the whole peninsula. » (2) The seven versions were apparently insufficient.

The Burmese, — who have been the occasion of great expense, perhaps without knowing it, to the English and Americans, — were not less generously treated than the Malays, since amongst them also,

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 106.
(2) P. 126.

more than thirty years ago, « about two hundred and fifty thousand tracts had been printed and circulated, » and how many thousands since, probably no one knows. Let us hear Mr Malcolm again, who thus announces to his employers the results of their liberality. « We have visited and distributed tracts in eighty-two towns, cities, and villages; supplied six hundred and fifty-seven boats and vessels, besides handing them, in a multitude of cases, to persons along shore. » And lest it should be inferred that all this indicated cooperation on the part of the Burmese, Mr Malcolm immediately adds; « But this fact is far from proving a general desire among the people for the knowledge of the new religion. A tract is in every respect a curiosity. They have never seen such paper. The shape of the book is a curiosity. Besides, it is property, and no Burman will refuse a gift without a strong reason. » Sir John Bowring observes of the neighbouring kingdom of Siam, that « one of the missionaries acknowledges that sheets of white paper would be yet more carefully sought. » (1) Mr Malcolm might have added too, that nearly all the objects of his benevolence were perfectly unable to read the books thus acquired, even if they had wished to do so. But this literary incapacity appears to have been considered wholly unimportant, either in Burmah or else where. « Many of them could not read, » says another official distributor, speaking even of the more educated Chinese; « but they seemed willing to remove their inability, since they accepted our books and our exhortations to learn that

(1) *The Kingdom and People of Siam*, vol. I, ch. XII, p. 377.

were of precisely the same character. Mr Tomlin, himself an active agent in these proceedings, reluctantly confesses, that there were so many « gross blunders » in the tracts which he and others circulated in Siam, that the king, an intelligent reader, « complains he can find neither head nor tail; » and he adds, that Chaou-Bun, an educated native who assisted Gutzlaff, though he « wrote out copies of the whole New Testament, despised all our sacred books, and said the tracts were abused and torn by the people, and ridiculed by the priests on account of their blunders. » (1) Dr Hobson also, an agent of the Religious Tract Society at Canton, reports of his own sphere of labour; « I am truly grieved that I cannot send you pleasing and encouraging accounts of any apparent good resulting from the distribution of the Tracts — they are treated with great disrespect. » (2)

We have now, perhaps, sufficient information with respect to the circulation of Protestant bibles and tracts in China and the contiguous countries. We have seen also what is their literary value, and have been told, even by Protestant writers, that far from assisting to convert the heathen to Christianity, they only increase their contempt for it. One enquiry, and not the least curious, still remains to be answered.

It is impossible to hear of the millions of bibles and tracts distributed during the last fifty years in these countries, without desiring to know, what has been their final destiny. As most of the heathen could

(1) *Missionary Journals*, etc., ch. XIII, p. 329.

(2) See *The Cross and the Dragon*, by J. Kesson, ch. XV, p. 234.

not, and the rest would not read them, what, we are tempted to ask, has become of them? The missionaries were charged to distribute them, and they did so; with what results, some of their number have honorably confessed. The pagans, chiefly of the lowest classes, willingly received them; but to what use did they apply this new acquisition, this prodigious mass of volumes, of all shapes and dimensions, of which the language was supposed by their authors to resemble, more or less exactly, the dialects of China, Burmah, and Siam? This is the question which we are about to answer, by the help of various witnesses, who describe what they continually saw with their own eyes.

« The cause of the eagerness which has sometimes been evinced, » says Archdeacon Grant, « to obtain the sacred volume, cannot be traced to a thirst for the word of life, but to the *secular* purposes, the unhallowed uses, to which the holy word of God, left in their hands, has been turned, and which are absolutely shocking to any Christian feeling. » (1) Let us see how far this statement is correct.

« In China, » says Mr Lay, recording his own experience, « it has been customary for the distributor of books to scatter his wares in a sort of broad-cast, and to give wherever a hand was held out to receive. The natural result of this was the consignment of the books thus bestowed to the shelf, the box, or the cupboard, where, when sought for by the Missionaries, they were found in a state of spruce and intact neatness, which seemed to say : Here we are, just

(1) *Bampton Lectures*, ch. III, p. 93.

as you left us. » (1) But this was a far better lot than usually befell them.

« They have been seen, » says Dr Wells Williams, also a Protestant agent, « on the counters of shops in Macao, cut in two for wrapping up medecines and fruit, which the shopman would not do with the worst of his own books. » (2)

Let us hear another class of witnesses. « The number of books which the Protestants distribute is immense, » says Bishop Courvezy, a prelate well known to English travellers in the Indian Archipelago, « but the use to which they are applied is very different from that which they were intended to serve. At Singapore, I saw the walls of two houses entirely covered over with leaves of the Bible; this profanation, however, is not greater than when they are employed to roll round tobacco and bacon. » (3)

Another eye witness tells us, that in the frontier towns of China, whole cases of them were constantly « sold by auction, and purchased, at the price of old paper, chiefly by the shoemakers, grocers, and druggists. » M. Boucho writes from Pulo Pinang, « I have myself interrogated many intelligent heathens as to the use which they made of the Bibles distributed to them. They have invariably replied, that they employ them for ignoble purposes. » He adds, that they were equally unanimous in declaring, « All these Bibles are translated in so barbarous and unintelligible a style, that, far from presenting the christian

(1) *The Chinese*, etc., ch. v, p. 54.

(2) *The Middle Kingdom*, vol. II, ch. xix, p. 343.

(3) *Annals of the Prop. of the Faith*, vol. I, p. 107; English edition.

religion in an attractive form, they are only suited to repel and disgust those amongst the heathen who felt some inclination to embrace it. » (1)

The Abbé Albrand,—a well known missionary, at a later period a Bishop, whom Mr Windsor Earl, though a Protestant, warmly eulogises for his « great success in converting the Chinese, » (2) and whose church at Singapore was partly built by the generous aid of his Protestant friends, — after noticing an American missionary who boasted that he had « distributed twelve large chests full in a few months, » continues as follows. « He must have a great reputation among his countrymen, who count the number of conversions by the number who have accepted Bibles; but I, who am on the spot, know the uses to which they are destined. There is not a day but some object passes through my hands enveloped in the leaves of some Protestant publication. How many houses are there in Singapore alone of which the ceilings and walls are covered with the leaves of some hundreds of Bibles in the form of tapestry! » (3) He adds, what Mr Tomlin admits, that the Chinese often stole them at night in order to apply them to domestic purposes, and that some of the Protestant missionaries appeared to consider this larceny a very encouraging proof of their zeal for divine things.

M. Pécot, who was familiar with both Hindostan and China, noticing the boast of the Bible societies that their versions had « penetrated into all parts of the known world, » observes, that as far as his

(1) *Annales*, tome IV, pp. 192, 214.
(2) *The Eastern Seas*, by George Windsor Earl, ch. XII, p. 392.
(3) *Annales*, tome VIII, p. 133.

observation extends, this is perfectly true; but he adds, « the grocers in all these countries can attest the same fact, since they distribute these translations, sheet by sheet, every hour of the day. » Marchini also, speaking from actual observation, reports, that « they are sold by the weight to shoemakers, to make Chinese slippers; » and this learned person expresses his astonishment, that « the English, who display so much discernment and accuracy of judgment in other matters, » should allow themselves to be the dupes of salaried speculators or visionary enthusiasts. Finally, the director of the Chinese seminary at Pulo Pinang says; « I have myself heard a Chinese declare that he was very grateful to the Bible Society for supplying him with paper for a use which I dare not name, and he assured me that this was the ordinary fate of the Bibles which were distributed to the Chinese. » (1)

Without attempting to multiply needlessly these revolting facts, let us hasten to prove that they occur as invariably in other countries. « How degrading the idea, » exclaims a Protestant writer, with whose words we will conclude, « to put into the hands of every Chinese bargeman or illiterate porter a packet of tracts, to sell or give away on his journey as he pleases! » (2) Perhaps the English people, who pay for all these publications, and without whose aid this indiscriminate profanation of holy things could never be accomplished, may some day adopt the same opinion; especially when they learn,

(1) *Annales*, tome III, pp. 37-46.
(2) *Asiatic Journal*, vol. IX, p. 343.

from an equally reluctant and impartial witness, that « hardly an instance has occurred of a Chinese coming to a missionary to have any passage explained, nor any person converted who has attributed his interest in religion to the reading of books. » (1) Such, by Protestant testimony, has been the result, after efforts prolonged through half a century, of the distribution of countless thousands of bibles and tracts in the regions beyond the Ganges. They have cost incredible sums, have awakened only the contempt of the few pagans who read them, have been polluted by the foulest and most degrading uses, and finally consumed as waste paper.

2. Let us turn next to India. The distribution of Bibles and tracts in Hindostan has been, if possible, still more profuse than in China. One is almost confounded by the array of figures which represent the consumption during a long series of years. The Americans alone — who had, ten years ago, twenty-one establishments and thirty-one printing presses in Madras and its neighbourhood, to say nothing of other cities — distributed, amongst other things, in one small district, and as it were at a single throw, thirty thousand tracts. (2) Nearly twenty years ago they had already printed about thirty four million pages, or more than one hundred thousand volumes, in Madras alone, (3) without gaining so much as a solitary convert; and their operations are quite insignificant when compared with those of the

(1) *The Middle Kingdom*, vol. II, ch. XIX, p. 343.

(2) *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. II, p. 340.

(3) *Religion in the United States of America*, by the Rev^d Robert Baird; book VIII, ch. III, p. 691.

English. Of the latter, General Sir Thomas Hislop gave this account. « These gentlemen set down their converts in proportion to the number of Bibles dispersed. We have ourselves observed, at more residencies than one, where scarce a vessel arrived without bringing a box or package of the above books. » He then describes the embarassment of a particular « Resident, » who received so many, with a request to disperse them, « that he sent them to all quarters by bundles of hundreds at a time. » But vainly he endeavoured to dispose of the thousands which were « heaped on him, ship after ship, till at length they acquired such a mass in his office, that he was compelled to remove them to an out-office, and several thousand copies were handed over to the Dutch authorities, in whose hands we are sure they will never bear much fruit. » The General finishes by quoting a missionary, who « wrote home for three hundred millions of Bibles, » and suggests, « that in the above manner he could easily get rid of even that number, by delivering them as ballast, or turning them out of doors without an index or a monitor to explain them. » (1)

It need hardly be said that since General Hislop's time, similar operations have been conducted, by tenfold the number of agents, and upon a vastly increased scale. Fifteen years ago, the auxiliary Bible society of the single city of Calcutta could boast, that they had already issued « 439, 987 copies. » (2)

(1) *Summary of Mahratta Campaign*, quoted in *Monthly Review*, vol. LXLIV, p. 369.

(2) *A Year and a Day in the East*, by Mrs Eliot Montauban, ch. VI, p. 102.

Twenty-two different missionary societies have run a race with each other, for many years past, in the same career, from one end of the Indian peninsula to the other.

We way conclude, however, without further details, that India, like China, has received its millions of bibles and tracts, and we shall now see that they had exactly the same literary value, and were employed in exactly the same way, as in the latter country.

We will begin with the impressive testimony of the Rev. Mr Adams, because he was himself a Protestant missionary. « Of the *one hundred and seventeen thousand tracts* printed by the Bengal Auxiliary Missionary Society, » says this candid gentleman, « the most part are either mystical, or puerile, or both; and there is scarcely *one* fit to be put into the hands of a native of understanding and reflection. » (1) The natives entirely agree with him. « You make one convert annually, out of fifty thousand, » said Nobinkissen, an educated Hindoo, in answer to a recent enquiry of Mr Lang, and that one, as we shall see hereafter, an impostor. « That is the result of preaching in the open air, all over the country, and the distribution of thousands and hundreds of thousands of tracts printed in the Hindostanee and Bengalee languages. » (2) They are so grossly absurd, says a learned Protestant authority, in allusion to the oriental translations generally, that « instead of promoting the service of christianity, it is not irra-

(1) *Asiatic Journal*, vol. XXI, p. 448.
(2) *Wanderings in India*, by John Lang, p. 223, (1859).

tional to impute some of the backwardness of the Hindus to this cause. » (1) Let us come to particulars.

The *Telinga* version deserves our first notice. A Protestant missionary, desiring to test its value, gave a copy of this translation to some natives in the district of Bellary. They could make nothing of it, but their curiosity was so far excited that they consulted the most learned man of their neighbourhood, who took it home, and after careful examination informed his clients, « that its style was so obscure and incoherent that it was almost impossible to comprehend it, but that he believed it was a treatise on magic. » (2)

The *Tamul* version was equally successful. « The translation is really pitiful, » says a Protestant clergyman, « and deserves only contempt. » (3) But there were several versions in this dialect, for though one may suffice for the English and Americans, and other civilised nations, the fastidious pagans are supposed, it does not appear why, to require many. Besides, there were numerous Christian sects in Hindostan, and each wished, in emulation of every other, to produce its own. « Rhenius declares, » says a recent writer on India, « that he began to edit a new edition of the Tamul Bible before he had been in Madras one year and a half. Other missionaries have confessed to a similar folly, and have warned their successors against it. » (4) On the other hand,

(1) *Asiatic Journal*, vol. XXVIII, p. 303.
(2) Abbé Dubois, quoted in the *Annales*, tome III, p. 20.
(3) *Ibid.*
(4) *The Theory and Practice of Caste*, p. 149.

a Protestant clergyman generously confesses, that some of the Catholic missionaries were the best Tamul scholars of their age, surpassing even the most learned natives, and that *their* writings are used at this day by Hindoo literates as text books, and quoted with grateful admiration. (1)

Of the *Canara* version, used in the neighbourhood of Goa, a competent judge gives the following and many similar specimens. « In the beginning God created the earth and the air. » « Darkness was upon the water, but the soul of God wandered with delight over the water. » « Let us make man like to us, and having our form; let him command the aquatic insects of the sea! » « There is in this version, » M. Dubois adds, « hardly a single verse which is correctly rendered; » and he remarks, that « no Indian possessing the slightest instruction can preserve a serious countenance in reading such a composition. » (2)

As an example of the merits of the *Mahratta* version, we are told that the words, « Behold the Lamb of God, » are translated, « Behold the young of the sheep of God; » « although the Mahratta dialect furnishes a word which renders exactly our word lamb, while that which they have substituted is not even a Mahratta word. » (3)

In the *Hindostani* version, we are told by another Protestant writer, the sentence « Judge not, that ye be not judged, » is thus rendered; « Do no justice,

(1) *The Land of the Veda*, by the Revd Peter Percival, ch. VI, p. 118.

(2) *Annales*, tome III, p. 31.

(3) *Ibid.*, tome IV, p. 179.

that justice be not done to you; » (1) which must afford the pagan reader a somewhat confused idea of Christian prudence and morality.

Dr Carey's *Kunkun* translation was briefly described by a native pundit as « bad letter, and no language at all. » (2) It appears that this gentleman was more ambitious than even most of his colleagues, and that he « executed or superintended translations of the Holy Scriptures in no fewer than thirty-five languages or dialects » (3) — though he did not even profess to have any knowledge whatever of more than six of them, and so little acquaintance even with these that, as we shall see hereafter, he could not make himself understood in one of them. « They have not all been tested, » says the historian of Protestant Missions, « but those which have, have been found so imperfect, that his versions generally are now given up as of no great value. » (4) They have been « either simply useless, » says another Protestant authority; « or, from explaining the doctrines of our faith by ridiculous forms of expression, have been absolutely pernicious. » (5) Nor can this surprise us when we learn from the same writer, that, owing to the « glaring mistakes » with which they abounded, « the sense of the original was sometimes completely lost, and the meaning ludicrous and

(1) *Baptist Missionary Account*, 1819, appendix to Report.

(2) *Periodical Accounts from the Serampore Mission*, vol. II, p. 167.

(3) *Annals of the English Bible*, by C. Anderson, vol. II, p. 602.

(4) Dr Brown's *Hist. of the Prop. of Christianity*, vol. II, p. 71.

(5) *Theory of Caste*, p. 149.

absurd. » Yet it would be difficult to estimate the cost of these thirty-five condemned versions to the people of England.

If, then, even Protestant writers admit and proclaim these facts, we may well bear to hear Catholic Missionaries, who find in these lamentable caricatures of the Bible a serious obstacle to their own labours, lamenting that their influence is as deadly in India as in China, and that « owing to their monstrous errors and their barbarous style, *our sacred writings are thought to be the work of a madman.* The Pagans have no sooner read two or three pages than they tear up the book, or fling it away with contempt. » (1) Yet it is to assist in fabricating such « pernicious » volumes, the only effect of which is to render the conversion of the heathen impossible, that the English people diligently frequent meetings of the Bible Society, and contribute their tens of thousands annually. If they had not made an imprudent compact with their own souls to abdicate reason in matters of religion, and to abandon themselves to the treacherous guidance of emotion and sentiment, it is probable that the career of the Bible Society would have been a short one.

We can hardly be surprised to hear that the natives of India make precisely the same use as those of China of the so-called « Bibles » scattered amongst them. So rapid, we are told, is their consumption in the various branches of retail trade, that of the millions which have been circulated from one end of Hindostan to the other, it is difficult, except in the

(1) Abbé Goust, see *Annals*, vol. I, p. 500.

capitals, to find so much as the trace of a single copy! This singular fact is revealed by an English writer, who, though accustomed to co-operate with the missionaries, gives this fatal testimony to the nullity of their costly efforts. « At the capitals I have certainly seen a number of translations of the Scriptures in the various oriental languages; but in the provinces and towns *I never, by application or enquiry, could hear of a copy of the sacred writings in the possession of a native.* » (1) The mystery of this wholesale decay and annihilation of so vast a number of volumes, which the traveller might have expected to find in heaps, blocking up every highway, is thus explained by another eyewitness. « The greater part of the heathen who receive a copy make haste to sell it for whatever money they can get. » (2) « They sell the Bibles, » says the vicar apostolic of Malabar, — who had often witnessed the operation in the two dioceses of Cochin and Cranganore, — « the moment they receive them, at any price they can obtain, to merchants who use them to wrap their drugs in. »

Sometimes, it appears, the more devout heathen actually present Protestant books as an acceptable homage to their own divinities. « I have seen a Hindoo, » says a well known writer, « devoutly listen to a discourse, beg a tract, and, on his return to the village, leave it on the threshold of the temple, and fall down with his forehead on the floor, and worship the image of Ganesa. » (3) He had perhaps not under-

(1) *The Wonders of Elora*, by Captain J. B. Seely, ch. XIX, p. 524 ; 2d edition.

(2) *Annales*, tome III, p. 32.

(3) Seely, ch. XIX, p. 475.

stood the discourse, for Mr Malcolm relates that « an experienced missionary in Bengal assured me that, on an average, not one half of the sermons of missionaries who undertake to preach is understood. » (1) In spite, however, of their imperfect acquaintance with the Indian dialects, these gentlemen are always prepared to translate the Bible into any one of them, at a moment's notice. « They learn, » says Mr Irving, « to speak a vulgar dialect of the language, and to pronounce it with a vulgar accent; it cannot be surprising that such a one makes but few converts. » « Bibles in every Asiatic language, » says another Protestant writer, « have certainly been distributed at an enormous expense throughout British India, but the sums hitherto expended have been of little avail. » (2) Even the few heathens who retain their copies make no use of them whatever. » Though many of us, » said one of them to a Protestant missionary in Asiatic Russia, « have the Gospel in our possession, we never peruse it,... and besides, we have a sufficient stock of religious writings of our own. » (3) « When men take credit, » observes a Presbyterian writer, in allusion to such facts, « in permitting the Bible to have a place on the shelves of a library with the Shaster and the Koran, it is more than evident to what a pass their toleration has come. » (4)Yet this equivocal liberality of the Hindoo

(1) *Travels*, etc., vol. II, ch. II, p. 265.

(2) *Asiatic Journal*, vol. III, p. 213.

(3) Dr Smith's *History of the Missionary Societies*, vol. I, p. 255.

(4) *Indian Mission of the Church of Scotland*, by James Macfarlane, D. D., p. 8.

or Mahometan is still chronicled in missionary reports as equivalent to a conversion, though, in the case of all the poorer recipients, it only signifies, that « the injudicious donor possesses the means of temporal advancement, » (1) while his gift, if retained at all, will only be found, as Mr Irving observes, in the possession of that worst class of Hindoos, « who may be seen, with a Bible in one hand and a petition in other, soliciting the alms of Europeans, » and « whose lax morality shocks the feelings of even their heathen countrymen. » (2)

Yet these proceedings continue as actively at the present hour, in spite of their admitted results, as at any former date. In vain the most unprejudiced witnesses protest against them. « The mere distributions of Bibles, » said Dr Middleton, the first Protestant bishop in India, « will produce very little effect in promoting Christianity among the natives. » (3) « Many of them have probably gone to the pawnbrokers, » said Sir Charles Oakeley, governor of Madras, a man of grave and religious character; and he added, but the admonition was spoken in vain, « the ship-loads of Bibles transmitted to India are in danger of being worm-eaten before they can be used to any salutary purpose. » (4) « The mission at Nagar, » observes a presbyterian writer, « has *given up* distributing books and tracts, finding that but little care is

(1) *Sindh*, by Lieut. Burton, ch. VI, p. 150.

(2) *Theory of Caste*, p. 146.

(3) *Life of Bishop Middleton*, by Revd C. Webb Le Bas, vol. I, ch. XIII, p. 377.

(4) M. S. Life, by his son, the Very Revd F. Canon Oakeley.

taken of them. » (1) Lastly, — for we cannot attempt to exhaust the witnesses, — an historian of British India, lamenting the continued failure of Protestant missions, declares without hesitation, that these very distributions are one of its chief causes; and that their want of success is partly due to « their own fault, in attempting to translate the whole of the Scriptures into the most difficult languages, with which they were most imperfectly acquainted. » (2)

3. The third sphere of missionary labour which we are hereafter to visit is Ceylon. Here also the same facts recur. Of *one* of the many Protestant sects in that island Sir Emerson Tennent relates, that « they have printed a million copies of the Scriptures, and thirty millions of other Christian publications. » Again, speaking of the single year 1848, the same authority says; » the prodigious circulation of Christian tracts and translations throughout the island amounted to upwards of five million pages, » (3) — or nearly seventeen thousand volumes, of three hundred pages each. The Church of England missionaries alone, as Mr Bennett noticed in 1843, had « already distributed four hundred and twenty thousand tracts, » (4) and they have been distributing them ever since. We shall see presently what the Cingalese did with them. The Americans also, as Lord Torring-

(1) *Six Years in India*, by Mrs Colin Mackenzie, vol. III, ch. VI, p. 184.

(2) *History of British India*, by Charles Macfarlane, ch. XXX, p. 375, 3d edition.

(3) *Christianity in Ceylon*, ch. VI, p. 285.

(4) *Ceylon and its Capabilities*, by J. W. Bennett esq., F. L. S., ch. VII, p. 61.

ton noticed in an official report, « had printed, at the single establishment at Batticotta, 470,580 volumes. » (1) And their prodigality has been emulated by all the other sects.

Let us come at once to the question of results. « The version of the Scriptures translated by the Church of England missionaries at Cotta, » we learn from Sir Emerson Tennent, was described, even by their own nominal converts, as « *blasphemous.* » (2) « Two versions of the sacred Scriptures are in existence, » writes Lord Torrington, who seems to have overlooked a third by the Baptists, « both provided by the funds of the British and Foreign Bible Society, the one by the Church of England, and the other by the Wesleyan Missionaries; but though their respective presses are within six miles of each other, their respective versions are so different, and both of them apparently so unsatisfactory, that a youth who has been trained to the one cannot accommodate himself to the other, and a native, though very imperfectly acquainted with our language, finds that he understands the Bible better in English than in either! » (3)

We are fully prepared to hear that the Cingalese make exactly the same use of all this printed paper as their brethren in China or Hindostan. What else should they do with the millions of unintelligible volumes forced upon them? « It is scarcely possible, » observes a learned Protestant critic of a certain

(1) *Ceylon, Past and Present*, by Sir George Barrow, ch. VII, p. 162.

(2) *Christianity in Ceylon*, ch. VI, p. 268.

(3) Barrow, ch. VI, p. 165.

translation of the « Ceylonese Sacred and Historical Books,» « for a person not familiar with the subject to conceive the extent of the absurdity of these passages » (1) Why, then, should the heathen be blamed for acting as an Anglican missionary relates in the following curious narrative? « The people came round me in great crowds, and held out their hands for the tracts. We distributed not less than *three thousand*. A great many of those which they received were either burned or torn to pieces. Some were torn to pieces before our eyes; others were stuck upon the branches of trees; » — these were an appropriate homage to the native gods, whose shrines were often adorned with pictures cut out of Protestant tracts, — « and some of the people, more impudent than the rest, as soon as they had received them said : These are fine things for wadding for our guns, when we go into the jungles to shoot. » (2)

4. The natives of Australia have not been deemed worthy of any translations whatever, either of Bibles or tracts. As their own language is not of precise or critical structure, is inconveniently limited in its vocabulary, and obstinately defective in its inflections, the Missionaries have apparently abstained from attempting an Australian version of the Bible. If they spoke a dialect which it was possible to imitate, however remotely, they would no doubt have been enriched long ago with the accustomed millions of Bibles and tracts; of which they would probably

(1) *The History of Ceylon*, by the Hon. George Turnour, Introd., p. 20.

(2) *Recollections of Ceylon*, by the Reverend James Selkirk, p. 419, (1844).

have made much the same use which the animals who roam in their forests might be expected to make, if they received a similar present.

The inhabitants of New Zealand, possessing a more copious language, have been dealt with in a more liberal manner. In 1840, the Bible Society presented ten thousand New Zealand Testaments at once to this people, and how many thousand more at other times probably no one now remembers. (1) Dr Thomson mentions « 60,000 copies of the New Testament » as *part* of the donation which they received. (2) The intelligent Maori can now also read, if so disposed, and in a language purporting to resemble his own, « the Dairyman's Daughter, » and other publications of the same order. He may have them in millions if he likes, or indeed whether he likes it or not. Sometimes, it appears, he is forced to buy them, and upon terms somewhat unfavourable to his own interests. Mr Earp deposed in 1844, before a Committee of the House of Commons, that « the Missionaries in New Zealand have carried on a great trade with books printed in the native language. » He also informed the House, which ordered the fact to be printed, that « the Missionary used to exchange his tracts for pigs and potatoes; » and he added, in familiar phrase, « the native looks upon the early Missionaries, in fact, as having done him. » (3)

Apparently the native had good reason for taking this gloomy view of the transaction. « The attempt

(1) *New Zealand, its advantages*, etc., by Charles Terry, F.R.S., p. 189.

(2) *New Zealand*, vol. I, p. 312.

(3) *Parliamentary Papers*, vol. XIII, p. 155, (1844).

to turn a jargon, like the Maori, into a pure language, by the Missionaries, » says a Protestant writer, « is a decided failure, and the words they have had to coin are ludicrous samples of language making : very few Maoris understand it. » (1) Other witnesses give actual examples of the native comments upon it. (2) Mr Jerningham Wakefield says : « In the single Gospel of St. Matthew, nearly one hundred words are represented by *sounds*, of which the *meaning* has to be explained to the native. » He adds, that, like the inhabitants of Ceylon, « they must first be instructed in the English language, » in order to read the Bible in their own. (3)

Is it wonderful, we may ask in conclusion, if « many of the natives, » as Mr Fox relates, « tore up their Bibles to make wadding for their guns? » (4) or if, as another writer notices, with suppressed indignation, certain volumes of « Milner's Church History met with a fate little anticipated by their writer, of being converted into New Zealand cartridges? » (5) Why should the New Zealander treat the Bible more reverently than the Missionaries themselves, who habitually used it as an instrument of barter? « There is one form of illiberality in the Church Missionaries, » says a member of the Legislative Council of that Colony, in 1845, « which has, in an especial manner, militated against their in-

(1) *Letters from Wanganui*, p. 30, (1845).

(2) See *Savage Life in Australia*, etc., by George French Angas, vol. II, ch. I, p. 13.

(3) *Adventure in New Zealand*, vol. I, ch. VI, p. 178.

(4) *The six Colonies of New Zealand*, p. 83.

(5) *The Gospel in New Zealand*, by Miss Tucker, ch. VIII, p. 93.

fluence; I allude to the practice of taking payment for Testaments, a usual price being a good sized pig, value 30 s. The natives complain of this much. » (1)

5. If we turn now to the operations of Bible and tract societies in Oceanica, a few characteristic facts will suffice, because they will amply illustrate the prudence and good sense which direct such proceedings, as well as their gigantic cost, and lamentable result. Let us begin with the inhabitants of the pleasant isle of Tongataboo. Mr Williams, of whom we shall hear a good deal hereafter, gave the following account of their peculiar privileges, in a work of which thirty five thousand copies had been consumed by the English public up to 1841, and probably many more since. « Between April, 1831, and November 1832, » — that is in the space of nineteen months, — « twenty nine thousand one hundred copies of small books, containing five million seven hundred and seventy two thousand pages, had been struck off. » And this, which might have appalled a more intellectual people than the dwellers in Tongataboo, who were profoundly indifferent to the whole operation, he considers « delightful evidence of the untiring diligence of the Missionaries who supplied the matter. » (2) What effect their untiring diligence produced upon the natives, we shall learn in due time.

The other islands of the Pacific have not been neglected. Years ago, « one hundred and sixty mil-

(1) *New Zealand and its Aborigines*, by William Brown, ch. II, p. 84.

(2) *Narrative of Missionary Enterprises in the S. Sea Islands*, by Revd John Williams, ch. XXVII, p. 123.

lions of pages had been printed in the *Hawaiian* dialect. » (1) The allowance of Bibles and tracts in this case was, therefore, nearly thirty times greater than that accorded to Tongataboo—which, however, does not appear to have complained of the unequal distribution.

The Sandwich Islands were always particularly favoured. More than twenty years ago, they already possessed nearly ninety million pages of missionary literature. (2) How utterly useless this costly donation has been to them, we learn incidentally, in 1856, from an English Protestant traveller, who was not only informed by the native Governor of Mawhee that « every thing that concerned the native race he belived to be, both physically and morally, *retrograde;* » but was also assured of the unpleasant fact, that « a capital error had been the chief cause of the unsatisfactory result, » and that the error in question was now so manifest, that « it might have been better that their tongue had never been reduced to rules and writing, for very few books could ever be published in it. » (3) In spite, however, of this verdict of a native authority, the « capital error » has been repeated during forty successive years. In the single year 1825, and the work has been going on uninterruptedly ever since, the issue of books and tracts amounted to « seventy eight

(1) *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, volume I, p. 47.

(2) *History of the Sandwich Islands Mission*, by the Reverend Sheldon Dibble, ch. VIII, p. 150.

(3) *Travels in the Sandwich and Society Islands*, by S. S. Hill esq.. ch. VIII, p. 141, (1856).

thousand. » (1) But this soon came to be considered meagre and trivial; for when they had circulated millions of Bibles and tracts in any country without producing the smallest effect, the only remedy which the failure suggested to the distributors was to circulate millions more. In the Hawaiian group this process was continued with so much vigour, that a little later we are told by an American Missionary, who evidently thinks it a subject for congratulation, —« They print in the Sandwich Islands six hundred reams of paper in a year, equivalent to twenty two thousand volumes of three hundred pages each. » (2) This is the work of a single year, and is merely to satisfy the intellectual wants of the Sandwich Islanders for the space of twelve months. It is clear that the whole population ought to be employed in reading, day and night, during the entire period of their existence; and even then they would probably fall into arrears, and confess that the printers had beat them. What effect this copious literature has really produced upon them, we shall see hereafter; and we shall learn, from Protestant witnesses of all classes, that they have only become ten times more vicious and worthless than they were before the Missionaries arrived amongst them.

The Rev. Sheldon Dibble, one of their teachers, has told us how the Bible is constructed for the use of Sandwich Islanders. The reader will judge whether the heathen in China, India, and elsewhere,

(1) *Journal of a Residence in the Sandwich Islands*, by C. S. Stewart, Introd., p. 21.

(2) *Memoirs of American Missionaries*, by rev^d^ Gavin Struthers, Introd.

have any reason to complain that their brethren in the Pacific have been better treated than themselves. « *Manao* means thought, » Mr Dibble informs us, « and *io* means true, or real; so the combination, *manaoio*, is used for faith. » The inquisitive disciple of these islands, therefore, if he can read at all, and if he has not used his Bible for some purpose not contemplated by the donor, has now the opportunity of learning, by the aid of the Bible Society and its intelligent stipendiaries, that christian faith means « real thought. » But as St. Paul speaks of « hope and charity, » as well as of faith, he has considerably increased the embarassment of his translators. « Charity » they give up in despair, as the Sandwich Islander knows nothing about it, has no word by which to express it, and has even unlearned, thanks to European example, the native courtesy and hospitality which used to do duty for it. But as « hope » is really indispensable to creatures looking forward to eternity, they resolved at least to secure that important virtue. They did it after this manner. « *Manao* means thought, and *lana* means buoyant; so the combination, *manaolana*, is made by us to express hope; » (1) — from which felicitous combination it follows, that whenever a Sandwich Islander conceives the timid « hope » that he may one day reach the paradise of Christians, he is only indulging, though he would perhaps be surprised to hear it, in the pleasures of « buoyant thought. » Whether this can be considered a satisfactory treatment or an adequate exposition of the Theolo-

(1) *Ubi Supra*, ch. VII, p. 137.

gical Virtues, we need not consider; but we may at least be allowed to compassionate the unfortunate heathen who is taught by such masters, that the only difference between Christian Faith and Hope is this, that the one is « real » and the other « buoyant » thought.

What these barbarians of the Pacific do with their so-called « Bibles » when they get them, we need not stay to enquire, nor does it much matter. We would willingly believe that they employ them, like other pagans, for domestic purposes, or consume them as fuel, but it appears they make a much less innocent use of them. « Many circumstances induced me to believe, » says a keen and impartial observer, » that they considered their religious books very much in the same light as they did their household gods. » (1)

6. Africa has had its full share, as might be expected, in the abundant diffusion of religious publications which the Bible societies delight to distribute. From every part of that vast continent — north, south, east, and west — we have exactly the same reports, both as to the literary merits of the « bibles, » and the uses to which they are uniformly applied. The West supplies the following examples among many others.

There is an African dialect called the Mpongwe (Gaboon), of which mention may be found in ethnological researches, but probably not elsewhere. Out of tenderness to the population who communicate their thoughts in this harmonious tongue, and

(1) *Beechey's Voyage to the Pacific*, vol. I, ch. IX, p, 306.

perhaps because it was « easy of acquisition to strangers, » (1) the Protestant Missionaries had already printed, nearly twenty years ago, one hundred and eighty five thousand pages of more or less Christian instruction, (2) and they have been printing ever since. But as their vocation was to print, perhaps they might as well print Mpongwe as any thing else. It is true that there was nobody to read their books, for their own official report acknowledges, in 1845, that the « mission church, » while it numbered *eleven* official members, had only attracted « *eight* natives. » But if the Africans did not read their books, they were ingenious enough to find another use for them. In the same year, M. Bessieux writes from Gaboon that he had lately witnessed, in company with the other European residents, « a grand distribution by one of the ministers of portions of the Old Testament among the Negroes; » and that « scarcely had the children got possession of the sacred book, when we saw the leaves of the Bible converted into pretty kites. » (3)

Sometimes, in other parts of the west coast, they do read the Bible; but only, says Mr Cruickshank, a friend and patron of the Missionaries, to « wrest texts to suit their views, and to minister to their inclinations and wants. » (4) Many examples given by other writers are too shocking for quotation. Mr Duncan also observes, with remarkable candour, that « a partial education by merely reading the

(1) *Equatorial Africa*, by Paul B. Du Chaillu, app. p. 475.
(2) *The Year Book of Missions*, by Elijah Hoole, p. 344.
(3) *Annals*, vol. VIII, p. 75.
(4) *Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast*, vol. II, ch. IV, p. 70.

Scriptures is only the means of making them more perfect in villainy. » (1)

Of the too celebrated Surinam Negro-English Version, of which even the Bible Societies appear to have been ashamed, we need not give any description. It is enough to refer to it. There are some forms of irreverence with which, except under the pressure of extreme necessity, one may reasonably decline to make acquaintance. Even a Presbyterian writer, not easily offended by any thing proceeding from such a source, complains of it as « most ludicrous, and altogether inconsistent whith that decorous and seemly garb in which the word of God should be presented to the public. » (2)

South Africa furnishes its due contingent of similar facts. Of the Kaffir version, Dr Colenso, a Protestant bishop in South Africa, relates, that even « the word for God, now commonly in use among the Missionaries, has no meaning whatever for the Kaffirs. » (3) The Rev. Mr Calderwood goes still further, and declares in 1858, with a good sense peculiar to himself; — « The plan of gratuitous distribution of the Scriptures, generally speaking a bad one any where, would be doubly so in the case of the Kaffirs. » (4) Colonel Napier adds the statement, which we might have anticipated, that « our attempts at conversion have hitherto proved an utter failure, and the Kaffirs, it is well known, have lately

(1) *Travels in W. Africa*, ch. XIII. p. 303.

(2) *The Edinburgh Christian Instructor*, december, 1829.

(3) *Ten Weeks in Natal*, by J. W. Colenso, D. D., p. 56, (1855).

(4) *Caffres and Caffre Missions*, ch. IX, p. 129.

converted, to our cost, the Missionary Bibles into ball-cartridges or wadding. » (1)

The North, though less frequented by Protestant Missionaries, who have always declined to measure themselves with Mahometans, reveals the usual trace of their passage. In 1859, we are told by a French traveller, « a Protestant clergyman inundated Tetuan with New Testaments furnished by the inexhaustible simplicity of the Bible Society. He decamped amidst the hisses of the people, and his books were cast into the flames. » (2) Mr Richardson, the African explorer, adds, from his own observation, the characteristic fact, that one reason why the Mahometans of North Africa despise the Bible, « is the crabbed and miserable language into which it is translated. » (3)

Finally, East Africa affords exactly the same evidence as the other divisions of the continent. Mr Mansfield Parkyns, a capable and perfectly impartial authority, tells us of « Missionaries in Abyssinia, » — they have been expelled since his visit, — « who sit under a tent, and distribute Bibles indiscriminately to all who happen from curiosity to come in. Among the many persons I have met with who had received them, one man in particular had two copies given to him, which, as might have been expected, he sold the same evening for a jar of beer, and got drunk on the strength of it... I am convinced that our good friend in question, far from being able

(1) *Excursions in Southern Africa*, by Lt Colonel E. Elers Napier, vol. II, ch. XXII, p. 442.

(2) *Le Maroc*, par M. Léon Godard, p. 40.

(3) *Travels in the Great Desert of Sahara*, by James Richardson, vol. I, ch. V, p. 157, (1848).

to read, never knew the meaning of a single prayer of any sort or description. Another man whom I knew, a native priest, received a copy. He *could* read it. The Missionary, perceiving that he appeared to set little value on the book, told him to be careful of it, as its cost, even where it was made, was considerable (I believe six dollars). The priest very naïvely answered : « Ah! I am unworthy of so costly a gift! Take back your Bible and give me *one* dollar; it is enough for me. » (1)

Dr Lewis Krapf confesses, in 1860, that he carried with him to Abyssinia « thirty chests full » of bibles, and actually distributed « nearly eight thousand; » and though the distribution, as we shall see hereafter, was singularly unfruitful, he gravely recommends, after retiring from the country, that « more Bibles should be distributed among them. » (2) Mr Parkyns, however, — speaking especially of the kingdom of Tigrè, « the country with which I am acquainted, and where so many Bibles were distributed, » — says, « Of what use *can* Bibles possibly be in Abyssinia? First, who can read? » And then comes the usual fact. « The use to which the many Bibles given away in this country are commonly applied is the wrapping up of snuff, and such like undignified purposes. » (3) If it is the duty of England to furnish Abyssinia with paper for such objects, it might at least be done at a cheaper rate.

7. Throughout the Levant, Syria, and Armenia,

(1) *Life in Abyssinia*, vol. I, ch. XII, pp. 153-5, (1853).

(2) *Travels etc. in Eastern Africa*, by Revd Dr J. Lewis Krapf, ch. VII, pp. 85, 106; ch. 8, pp. 111, 437, (1860).

(3) P. 155.

millions of Bibles and tracts have been dispersed, of much the same literary value, with partial exceptions, and with no great variety of result. Mr Jowett, in a report to the Malta Bible Society, says; « The bishop of Scio, a truly learned man, regrets, in behalf of his own nation, the vulgarity of that version which has been printed for the Greeks. » (1) Many new attempts have been made since then, and some have been more successful. If there is a work which requires, not only the most delicate precision of knowledge and refinement of scholarship, but a combination of all the highest intellectual gifts, it is certainly the translation of the Bible. The framers of the English version, so conspicuous, in spite of its defects, for beauty and melody of diction, were evidently of this opinion. Yet many of the modern Missionaries who have ventured upon the arduous task, which implies the perfect mastery of at least two languages, far from knowing that into which they proposed to render it, appear, from their official compositions, to have had only a slender acquaintance with their own.

Mr Strickland, the historian of the American Bible Society, relates of one of the Greek versions, as if he really believed the anecdote, that « the Ionian Bible Society had sent thousands of copies to the suffering Greeks, many of whom were seen reading the sacred page, while encamped in expectation of the enemy. » It is due to him to add, that he was not the original inventor of this fiction, which had been actually published by the English Bible Society in one of their reports; but it should have been told of any

(1) Quoted in *Asiatic Journal*, vol. VI, p. 503.

but Greeks, and especially Greek soldiers, who would be surprised to find themselves the heroes of such a tale. Mr Strickland might have known, and probably did know, that even the Greek clergy, as a countryman of his own indignantly relates, not only make no use whatever of the Protestant Bibles forced upon them, (1) but often diligently collect, in order to commit them to the flames. He might have known, what American Missionaries in Greece have found to their cost, that the bible-distributors in that land have been chastised by the civil tribunals with fine, imprisonment, and exile; while the ecclesiastical authorities, as the mortified agent of an English Society resentfully records, « have *always* strenuously opposed the distribution of the Bible in modern Greek. (2) « It was not impossible for him to have known also, that in 1854, the schismatical Greek patriarch, worried ont of his habitual apathy by aggressive « missionaries, » published an encyclical letter, in which he not only warned all his nation against the emissaries of the Bible Society, but described the latter, *ex cathedra*, as « satanical heresiarchs from the caverns of hell. » (3) Finally, if it was too much to expect that an historian should be acquainted with facts with which every body else was familiar, Mr Strickland might at least have been warned by the candid confession of an English Protestant, long resident among the Greeks, who honestly exposes this particular fiction as « an as-

(1) Dr Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, vol. I, § 3, p. 146.

(2) *Journal of a Deputation to the East*, vol. II, p. 594, (1854).

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 816.

tounding misrepresentation of the Bible Society, » and then adds the emphatic declaration, — « I have been a good deal among the Greeks, and often at Smyrna, but I have never seen *one* of them reading the Bible, nor do I believe has any Englishman there. » (1)

It is quite true, however, as Mr Strickland reports with undue elation, that vast numbers of Bibles have been distributed among them, and that Greeks have even sometimes been the agents in doing it. But this singular fact is fully explained, when we learn from Mr Jowett that « the Bible Society grants a commission of ten per cent, to the person employed to sell them. » This condition being duly announced to one Procopius, « chief agent of the (schismatical) Patriarch of Jerusalem, » that intelligent Greek eagerly replied; « send me the books, and I shall immediately begin, and when I have furnished the Patriarchate with the Scriptures, I will circulate them elsewhere. » (2) No doubt he would, and all over the world if necessary, with so attractive a recompense in view.

Perhaps it may be well to notice in passing the fate of the Bible Society in Russia, which gives the law to Greece, and whose example is commonly followed by all the Photian sects. Founded at St Petersburgh, in 1813, by the permission of Alexander, then under the influence of Madame de Krudener, it was peremptorily suppressed as early as 1826; and Schnitzler relates, that the immediate cause of this catastrophe

(1) Admiral Slade, *Records of Travel*, vol. II, p. 476.

(2) *Christian Researches in the Mediterrancan*, by Reverend W. Jowett, app. p. 428, 3d edition.

was the unexpected discovery, that certain individuals « had been making a criminal use of the Bible. » (1)

It would occupy too much space to trace minutely the results of bible distribution in other European countries, nor do they strictly belong to our subject. Every where their history is the same. In France, a single agent « effected in the course of one year the distribution of 200,000 Bibles and Testaments. » (2) Yet protestantism has neither enlarged its borders, nor changed its character, in consequence of the operation. In 1841, « it was hardly possible, » we are told, « to find twenty *pasteurs* who confessed the doctrines of the Trinity and the Atonement. » (3) In 1847, Dr Clark, an Episcopalian minister, once more described French Protestantism as « a cold formalism, and a sort of rational Christianity, with which David Hume would have found no fault. » (4)

In Portugal, the only appreciable result of the operations of the Bible Society is this, that the residents in Lisbon and its suburbs find that all the articles which they obtain from the public markets, and especially fruit, butter, and fish, come to them enveloped in sheets of the Protestant bible. The better class of Portuguese see in this fact only a proof of the irreverence which leads to such profanation.

In Spain, as a Protestant writer informs us, Mr Borrow's expedition « was not only a most complete and entire failure, but of such a nature as

(1) *Histoire Intime de la Russie*, notes, p. 472.
(2) Strickland, ch. xxx, p. 269.
(3) *Report of Foreign Aid Society*, december 1841.
(4) *Glimpses of the Old World*, vol. I, ch. xxvi, p. 443.

entirely to defeat any future attempt of the same kind. » « Hardly any Spaniard to whom I mentioned the subject, » says this gentleman, « had ever heard either of the expedition or the individual! » On the other hand, the reprint of the Valencia Bible, which was taking place at the time of his visit, « supposes a large demand, » he observes, « as it is rather an expensive work. » (1) But if Mr Borrow's bibles failed to attract attention in Spain, where every peasant's child is familiar with the sacred mysteries of revelation, their distribution produced a certain effect in London. The fruit dealers of that metropolis, as an English Reviewer noticed at the time of Mr Borrow's costly excursion, were surprised to find that they received during several weeks, together with their customary Spanish imports, a continual supply of multilated Gospels, and fragments of the Epistles of St-Paul. It was in this way that Mr Borrow's bibles returned to England.

But it is time to resume our observations in more distant lands. Armenia and Syria, of which we are hereafter to speak more fully, deserve at least a brief allusion. In the former country, — where American benevolence expends fifty thousand dollars yearly, with results which will be found worthy of our attention, — the Protestant Missionaries distributed, in the single year 1845, more than two million pages of print; and the total issue by the Americans alone, in that single province, or rather in a small part of it, had reached at the same date seventy five million

(1) *Spain and the Spaniards in* 1843, by Captain Widdrington, R. N., vol. II, p. 304.

pages. (1) Yet, as the learned Eugène Boré observes, « the people cannot understand their faulty and inaccurate translations, even when they know how to read. » (2)

In Syria also, in one twelvemonth, they printed 1,282,000 pages. In the single city of Smyrna they had printed, fifteen years ago, « more than thirty two million pages » (3) — for what class of readers it would be impossible to guess. But the constant repetition of these figures, always amounting to millions, becomes monotonous.

Two or three characteristic examples, however, may be added, for the sake of illustrating both the wisdom of these reckless distributions, which constitute the leading feature of Protestant Missions to the heathen, and the ingenuousness of the agents who superintend them. The Rev[d] Jacob Samuel, who was sent on an expedition to Bagdad which he calls « a missionary tour, » relates that at Bassora the Mahometans displayed such eagerness to obtain his Bibles, that his « house was surrounded by thousands of Mussulmans, *who all cried for books.* » (4) In a single day he flung among them, he says, « about two thousand single Gospels of St-John, » besides a due proportion of tracts and other publications. And this pleasing incident was narrated by impassioned orators at many a bible-meeting both in England

(1) Hoole, p. 401.

(2) *Arménie*, par M. Eugène Boré, p. 138.

(3) *Observations in the East*, by J. P. Durbin, D. D., vol. II, ch. XXXV, p. 294.

(4) *Missionary Tour through Arabia to Bagdad*, by Rev[d] Jacob Samuel, ch. XXIV, p. 236.

and America, amidst the plaudits of confiding audiences. It was a great encouragement to hear that even « the Mussulmans, » so long obdurate, had at last begun to « cry for books. » It is true that the tale was improbable, but this only gave it additional interest. The Mahometans are the least likely people in the world to act the part ascribed to them by Mr Samuel. « The Bible, » says one who lived among them, hardly excites curiosity enough in them to take it up and read a single verse. I have often offered it to them to read, but they have refused to open the book. » (1) And an English clergyman notices that when, some years ago, five or six hundred Bibles were distributed at once in Constantinople, the Sultan issued a Firman, — no doubt at the suggestion of others, — commanding all the followers of the Prophet « to cast them into the flames, and reduce them to ashes. » (2) Mr Samuel, however, says he overcame all these difficulties, and that Bassora was the scene of his triumphs.

Unfortunately, another traveller followed closely in the track of the unsuspecting Mr Samuel, and arrived at Bassora in time to attest two curious facts; the first, that Mr Samuel had narrowly escaped being torn to pieces by his admiring Mahometan disciples, who « all cried for books » — a fate which he only escaped by a timely flight; and the second, that the people of Bassora, more reverential than Protestant Missionaries, anxious, as they said themselves, « that a book which Mahometans as well as

(1) Richardson, vol. I, ch. v, p. 157.

(2) *Constantinople*, etc., by Revd R. Walsh, L., L., D., vol. II, app. p. 501.

Christians consider sacred might not be trodden under foot, resolved, that the volumes should all be thrown into the river, and this order was accordingly executed. » (1) Such was the real version of Mr Samuel's adventures, and such the fate of his Bibles, which are now lying at the bottom of the Euphrates.

Another Protestant Missionary, who visited Tiflis, Kars, and Erzeroum, and was almost as skilful in the composition of official reports as Mr Samuel, « sent his books for sale through the bazars and streets. » When nobody would *buy*, he offered them gratis. The population being still apathetic, he dropped them, as a last resource, in the markets. « He heard of eight of his books being torn to pieces; » and finally, « the Kadi and Mufti declared, that so strong was the popular feeling against him, if he should be killed they could not be responsible. » (2) And then he decamped, — fully prepared, however, to give the usual account of his triumphant labours, and of the obligations of Mahometans to the Bible Society.

A still more curious instance is afforded by a well known Protestant Missionary, the Rev. Dr Joseph Wolff, conspicuous amongst his order for energy and vivacity, but also for somewhat romantic narratives of his own victories, in many lands and over many people. In these days of universal travel and easy locomotion such tales are, to say the least, imprudent; because, sooner or later, they are sure to encounter the critical analysis of some impartial

(1) *Narrative of a Mission to India*, by V. Fontanier, Vice Consul of France at Bassora, ch. XVI, p. 344.

(2) *Missionary Researches in Armenia*, by Eli Smith and H. Dwight, Letter IV, p. 72.

witness, who deals with these fables as Fontanier did with the inventions of the inaccurate Mr Samuel. Dr Wolff — who reluctantly confesses that « the Jews in Damietta sent back the Bibles I had given them, » and that « at Jerusalem the Jews burnt several of the New Testaments I gave to them » (1) — has filled volumes with the history of his own successes, especially amongst the Arabs and Persians. Later travellers, who walked in his footsteps, thus correct the aberrations of his self-love. « I have frequently, » says Captain Wilbraham, « heard Persians boast of having worsted in argument the well known missionary Wolff. » (2) But here are still more curious revelations of the same kind. Meshed and Bokhara, like Bassora, are a long way off, and far removed from the highway of European tourists; and Dr Wolff evidently believed, like Mr Samuel, when he recounted his own apostolic fortitude and missionary triumphs in these ancient and remote cities, that he was at least quite safe from the unseasonable corrections of any other writer. Vain confidence! « The *selamliks*, bows, and benedictions, » says General Ferrier, — who fortunately traversed these regions on his way from Persia to the Punjaub, — « which Dr Wolff talks of having received on his entering Bokhara, existed only in his own fertile imagination. The little children, instead of kissing the hem of his robe, » as he complacently relates, « abused and threw stones at him. This increased his fears, and he endeavoured to propitiate all who came

(1) *Journal*, pp. 152, 244.

(2) *Travels in the Trans-Caucasian Provinces of Russia*, by Captain Richard Wilbraham, ch. XXXIV, p. 389.

near him with money and presents. The first day of the Doctor's reception by the Emir Nasser Ullah Khan, he was in such a state of alarm that he did not seem to know where he was; he could not recognise the persons near him; his language was incoherent and he trembled violently. The Emir observed this and had pity upon him. Take this wretched man home, he said to the master of the ceremonies, he is incapable of conversing, and the terror he manifests distresses me. » (1)

It is characteristic of the mode in which such reputations are sometimes acquired, and even permanently maintained, in the British Isles, that a new work by Dr Wolff is announced by his London publishers, in 1860, as « The Travels and Adventures of Dr Wolff, known throughout the world as *the great Bokhara missionary*. » (2)

But if Dr Wolff could thus announce himself in England, his name appears to have attracted less honour in the supposed scenes of his triumphs.

« When I returned to Meshed, » says Ferrier, « the English agent Mollah Mehdi was furious against Dr Wolff, who had published a letter in an eastern paper, saying that he had converted the Mollah to Christianity. ' How, ' he said, ' could I be converted by the mediation of that crazy man? May the head of Wolff be covered with cinders, may he go blind for having told such a falschood! ' I could only console him by promising to send a letter from him to

(1) *Caravan Journies in Persia, Afghanistan*, etc., ch. IX, p. 128, ed. Seymour.

(2) *The Times*, may 11, 1860.

Dr Wolff, in which he would desire him to retract his statement. » (1)

Such examples are instructive, and here is one more of the same kind. Dr Holt Yates, a friend and admirer of « the great Bokhara missionary, » informs us, that he was carrying on a certain occasion a cargo of Bibles from Smyrna to Salonica. The Greek crew, less devout than their countrymen described by Mr Strickland, thinking him a fit subject for their playful malice, assured him that « a pirate » was following the vessel. Here was another trial, and he endured it with his usual fortitude. « He insisted, » says Dr Yates, « on the sailors putting for land, leaving his clothes and his Bibles on board, and after wandering about for three days without food, presented himself before the governor at Salonica, in a piteous plight; cut and bleeding from the thorns and rocks, to the no small amusement of the Mussulman authorities, who fed and clothed him, and sent him, by his own desire, to Malta. » An Ulemah, however, « declared that he must either be very wicked or mad, and that if he were allowed to live, he should be locked up. » (2)

Dr Wolff himself, who was an active agent of the Bible Society, furnishes a suitable appendage to these anecdotes, when he tells us, that he used to offer his Bibles even to the Bedouin Arabs, though they were as incapable of reading them as their own camels, because one of them, to whom he had probably given something besides a Bible, « promised to get it read

(1) Ch. XXXI, p. 488.

(2) *Modern History of Egypt*, by W. Holt Yates, M. D., vol. II, ch. XIV, p. 592.

whenever any one came to his house who *could* read. » (1)

Mr Walpole, who visited the same lands a few years later, makes the following judicious reflection upon Bible distribution in the homes of the Arab and the Mahometan. « We vend our Bibles as we vend waste paper. Is the Koran treated thus? No instance can be shown, where a good Moslem, whatever his distress, will sell his heaven-sent book. They generally give it as a present, or exchange it. » (2) And Mr Coleridge, alluding to the universal profanation of the Scriptures, so carelessly flung about by Protestants in all parts of the world, says : « I ask myself, what idea these persons form of the Bible, that they should use it in a way in which they themselves use no other book? » (3)

But it is time to conclude, and we can hardly do so more appropriately than by the following description, given by admiral Sir Adolphus Slade, of the actual results of Bible distribution in the Levant. « The lavish distribution of Bibles, » he says, « is distressing to behold. Did the members and supporters of the Bible Society know *how they go*, how they are received, they would infinitely prefer giving their money to their poor countrymen. But then the patronage of appointing missionaries, Bible distributors, etc., would cease. Let us examine what becomes of these books.

Bibles are given to the *Turks*, printed very ration-

(1) *Journal*, p. 176.

(2) *The Ansayrii*, by the Hon. F. Walpole, vol. III, ch. III, p. 77.

(3) *Literary Remains of S. T. Coleridge*, vol. I, p. 320.

ally in the Turkish character, — one hundred and ninety-nine out of two hundred cannot read! A Turk takes one of them as he would a treatise on Fluxions, or a life of Lord Bacon, and with about as much interest... he either keeps it as a curiosity, or tears it as waste paper.

The *Hebrews* take the Bible with great pleasure, because saving them expense : *they carefully destroy the New Testaments*, and place the Old Testaments in their synagogues, sneering at the donors.

The *Albanians* make wadding for their guns of the leaves of the Society's Bibles, if they have no other. (1)

And so he continues an enumeration, which, coupled with what we have already heard of the fate of protestant Bibles in so many other parts of the world, brings us naturally to the conclusion suggested by Mr Walpole and Admiral Slade, that the Bible Society, — which has never converted a single soul in any region of the earth, and in England itself has seen a growth of practical heathenism so exactly proportioned to its own development, that at length five millions of our population are officially declared to « profess no religion whatever, » — is simply a vast and successful organisation for supplying the heathen world gratuitously with waste paper. It is to be presumed that its subscribers deem this a worthy object, and not too dearly purchased by the millions which have been expended upon it. The apostles adopted a different mode, or Christianity would have been still in its cradle.

(1) *Records of Travels in Turkey*, etc., ch. XXVII, p. 518.

8. When we have given two or three examples of the same proceedings in America, though far from exhausting a subject which admits of ampler illustration, we shall have said enough for our present purpose. In 1846, the single tribe of Choctaw Indians, and others were treated quite as liberally, was enriched by the donation of three hundred and twenty thousand printed pages; from which we infer that these judicious savages spend their leisure time chiefly in intellectual pursuits. This was apparently the impression of the Protestant agents; for two years earlier this favoured tribe had already received from the same quarter, but without exhausting their mental activity, 3,048,150 pages of bibles and tracts. (1) So much for the Choctaws. The Cherokees, perhaps because they had displayed a less eager appetite for sacred literature, had only obtained up to the same date 2,203,200 pages; but we may believe they were satisfied with this lesser quantity, which represents considerably more than seven thousand volumes of three hundred pages each. The Sioux, great contemners of studious habits, were put off with less than two hundred thousand pages; and the Ogibbeways received something under a million. We shall see hereafter, by the ample confessions of the missionaries, what use they made of them.

But even the donations to Choctaws, Sioux, and Ogibbeways, are perhaps surpassed by that offered to the Nipmuks, or Naticks, at an earlier period. M^r^ Eliot, as D^r^ Douglas notices in his History of

(1) *Religion in the U. S. of America*, by Rev^d^ R. Baird, book VIII, ch. III.

America, translated the Bible into their language. « It was done with good design, but must be reckoned among the *otiosorum hominum negotia.* Of the Naticks, at present, (1745,) there are not twenty families subsisting, and scarce any of these can read. *Cui bono?* » (1) Dr Livingstone also mentions an equally profitable version by the same hand, which the celebrated African traveller calls « God's word in a language which no living tongue can articulate, nor living mortal understand. » (2)

We are approaching the end, but must not conclude without observing, that even the natives of south America, though Christians, have been remembered with favour by Protestant Bible Societies. Three thousand three hundred Spanish Bibles were sent at one time to Mexico, and many more afterwards, as well as a due supply to Brazil, Buenos Ayres, Chili, New Grenada, and other provinces. Dr Olin, the Wesleyan president of the college at Harvard, honestly records of one of these operations, that it was « an unsuccessful attempt to make some impression on the native Catholic population; » but the Mission established with that object at Buenos Ayres failed so decisively, that he prudently adds, — « We trust it will inspire the Board with great caution in entertaining new projects for missions among Catholics. » (3)

Of a similar attempt in Brazil, less ingenuous historians of the same nation relate, with much

(1) *History of the Indians of North America*, by Samuel G. Drake, book V, ch, VII, p. 114.

(2) *Missionary Travels in South Africa*, ch. VI, p. 115.

(3) *Works*, vol. II, p. 423.

animation, that « there was a rush of applicants for the sacred volume. » They even recommend urgently « a missionary colporteur to go from colony to colony throughout Brazil with Bibles and tracts. » Dr Olin's counsel was perhaps more judicious; for even if their narrative were true, it would only prove, — since they do not pretend, after a residence of many years, to have gained so much as a single proselyte, — that when the Brazilians had received their Bibles, they were only the more confirmed in their own faith. They confess too, that they had entertained the not unreasonable suspicion, that the « rush » only indicated « that some plan had been concerted for getting the books destroyed. » (1) And an English clergyman ascertained, thirty years ago, not only that Brazil had less need of these gentlemen than they supposed, but that « the noble public literary institution at Rio Janeiro is particularly distinguished for its collection *of Bibles*, more extensive, perhaps, than in any other library in the world. » (2)

At the town of Mendoza, in the Pampas, for no place is too remote or obscure to escape attention, an English missionary agent relates in 1840, that he offered his bibles to a bookseller for six pence each, but that « after remaining on his shelf for some days without a purchaser, he recommended me to withdraw them as unsaleable. » So he desired him to give them away. (3)

(1) *Brazil and the Brazilians*, by Revd D. P. Kidder D. D., and Revd J. C. Fletcher, ch. XIV, pp. 256, 340.

(2) *Notices of Brazil*, by Revd R. Walsh, L. L. D., v. I, p. 438.

(3) *A Visit to the Indians of Chili*, by Captain Allen F. Gardiner, p. 45.

In Guatemala, another English distributor was peremptorily ordered by the President to quit the country, and suffered what he calls a « violent extramission from the capital. » This missionary relates, in 1850, that he vainly invoked the protection of M^r^ Chatfield, the British consul, who « declined to interfere, and rudely ordered me to leave the consulate. » He proposes, however, to resume his distributions, « so soon as the door shall be again opened in Providence » — of which, after the lapse of ten years, there appears no immediate prospect. (1)

In the capital of New Grenada, we learn from a *Times* correspondent in 1860, « all the Bibles distributed by the London Bible Society were collected, and burnt in the public square. » The British minister, it is added, was indignant, « but the American minister was present, countenancing the outrage. » (2) Perhaps the latter was sufficiently intelligent to comprehend that the act was a protest, not against the Bible, but only against the Bible Society. He may also have known, that in this very city, the Holy Scriptures had been studied with so much zeal and success, even in the public schools, that the scholars, as a British officer reported thirty years ago, « acquitted themselves excessively well in replying to questions in the Old and New Testament. » (3) They had apparently not much need of the doubtful

(1) *The Gospel in Central America*, by Rev^d^ F. Crowe, ch. XIV, pp. 511, 78, 87.

(2) *The Times*, February 23, 1860.

(3) *Journal of a Residence in Colombia*, by Captain Charles Stuart Cochrane, vol. II, ch. XIV, p. 287.

translations of the Bible Society, and might be pardoned for throwing its present into the fire.

Lastly, the Rev^d. Walter Colton relates, — as if to enforce D^r Olin's prudent admonition, and to show that the warning applied equally to every part of south America, — that in Chili also, to which state another cargo of Protestant bibles had been despatched, a general procession of the inhabitants was formed, « and they were burnt in presence of the assembled multitude. » (1)

Such, by the testimony of their own agents, have been the unvarying results, without so much as a solitary exception, at any time, or in any part of the world, of that almost incredible dispersion of Bibles which even this imperfect sketch of the operations of Bible societies, both English and American, has disclosed to us. Employed in all lands for the vilest purposes, despised by the more enlightened heathen for their vulgarity and incoherence, cast into the sea by Mahometans, and consumed in the flames by Christians, not a trace remains, after a brief space, of the millions of books with which vague religious sentiment has inundated the world. « Surely, » says a Protestant clergyman, who had carefully analysed this national delusion, and thoughtfully contemplated its humiliating fruits, « the very failure that has attended the mere dispersion of the sacred Scriptures among the heathen nations might satisfy us, that it was not designed that the Gospel should thus win its triumphs. » (2)

(1) *Incidents of a Cruise to California*, ch. VI, p. 168, (1851).
(2) Grant's *Bampton Lectures*, III, 93.

Yet the Bible Society, whose operations we have been obliged to notice thus tediously because of their intimate connection with those of Protestant missions, constantly appealing to the one religious instinct which, however barren in actual results, is still deeply rooted in the English mind, has outlived the conscientious protests of its own agents, as well as the more animated and scientific assaults of its enemies. In vain the most learned and competent witnesses expose the hollowness of its boastful pretentions. « It appears, » says Dr Herbert Marsh, « that among the European languages in which the British and Foreign Bible Society has printed, or assisted in printing, the Scriptures, there is *not one* into which the Scriptures had not been already translated! » But this does not prevent its orators from asserting, with calm self-possesion, that but for its labours these versions would have been unknown. Vainly Dr Marsh cites, amongst other examples, their Polish version. « We shall find, » says that learned person, but he only wasted his words, « that besides four editions of the whole Bible, and two of the New Testament, published by the Catholics; besides two editions of the whole Bible, and four editions of the New Testament, published by the Socinians; not less than nine editions of the whole Bible, and eight editions of the New Testament, have been published by the Polish Calvinists. » And then he adds, that since « the great body of the Polish nation consists of Catholics, and of the remainder the majority consists of Jews, » *fifteen* editions of the whole Bible and *fourteen* separate versions of the New Testament, might have satisfied the wants of the country, or at least

admonished the Bible Society not to pretend that Poland owed the Bible to English zeal. But the Bible Society knew its subscribers, and only smiled at Dr Marsh. (1)

And not only have the directors of this institution dispersed their crude and unprofitable translations, to the grievous detriment of Christianity, in lands which the providence of the Church had endowed with truer versions long before this Society had come into existence; not only have its own agents discovered, by personal experience and observation, that the Catholic Church has published accurate translations of Holy Scripture in the language of every people whom she has gathered into her fold; they have even confessed, with unexpected candour, that many of these have actually been appropriated by that very Society which loudly boasts to have every where taken the initiative, and then circulated as its own work. Thus, in 1818, we are told, « the British and Foreign Bible Society purchased 1500 copies of the ancient Armenian Testament from the Armeno-Catholic College in the Island of St.-Lazarus, Venice;... subsequently, still larger numbers were procured from the same quarter, and put in circulation chiefly among the Armenians of Turkey. » (2) The Amharic version,—the principal dialect of Abyssinia, — prepared with great labour at Cairo under the auspices of the French Consul, was also purchased by the English Society with a similar object. (3) The

(1) An Inquiry relative to the B. and F. Bible Society, by Herbert Marsh, D. D., p. 67.

(2) Dwight's *Christianity in Turkey*, ch. I, p. 19.

(3) *Abyssinie*, par M. A. N. Desvergers, p. 39.

Arabic version which the Bible Society formerly circulated in Syria was also, as Mr Jowett confesses, « the Propaganda edition, » printed at Rome in 1671, more than a century before that Society was created, « expressly for the use of the Arabian Christians. » (1) Of the Ethiopic one of their own agents says, — « In former times the Ethiopic was much cultivated by the Jesuit Missionaries; to *them* we are indebted for the New Testament in that language. » (2) The same thing is true of the Tartar version, which was published, as Neander admits, nearly 500 years before Protestant Missions began; (3) it is true of the Chinese, in which, as Mr Medhurst allows, the Church anticipated the Sects by more than two centuries; (4) it is true of the Cingalese, in which Mr Harvard found a copy, « the work of some Roman Catholic missionary, » at least as remote in its origin; (5) it is true of the Russian, Polish, and *all* European dialects, as well as of the Coptic, Tamul, Annamite, Malayalim, and many other oriental versions. And thus it is proved, by the evidence of their own witnesses, that even in that which they have boastfully claimed as their peculiar work, the Sects have only done, tardily and without fruit, what the Church had already accomplished in all lands with such signal success, that her enemies have eagerly appropriated the treasures which she had lavishly dispensed, though *they*

(1) *Researches*, etc., app. p. 453.
(2) *Ibid.*, p. 196.
(3) *History of the Christian Religion and Church*, v. VII, p. 76.
(4) *China*, etc., ch. IX, p. 248.
(5) *Narrative of the Mission to Ceylon*, by Revd W. Harvard, Introd., p. 64.

could only present to their disciples a mutilated counterfeit of gifts which in their rude hands lost all their value. Even in their boasted distribution of the Scriptures, they confess that they have but circulated borrowed gold, which turned to dross at their touch. In China and India, we have seen, by their own admissions, how the Protestant translators, while attempting to imitate the Catholic versions, only succeeded in caricaturing them, through lack of mental and literary qualifications. « In the field of philology, » says Sir John Bowring, repeating the eulogy so often pronounced by men of oriental leaning, « the world owes much to Catholic missionaries; » yet their Protestant imitators could not even make any profitable use of their labours, though their own, in a multitude of instances, were founded upon them. The very books which they used, even their dictionaries and grammars were not unfrequently borrowed from Catholic missionaries. Thus Dr Marshman, of Serampore,—whose own compositions, like those of Carey, have been abandoned as worthless even by his co-religionists,— acknowledged that he « owed his first sight of a Latin-Chinese dictionary to the politeness of the Catholic missionary Père Rodriguez, who had spent twenty years in China. » (1) In like manner, when Schreeter, an agent of the Church Missionary Society, wished to translate the Scriptures into the Bootan dialect, « he obtained a *manuscript* dictionary, Tibet and Italian, the work of some Romish missionary. » (2) And in our own day, we find in South America

(1) *Chinese Grammar*, by J. Marshman, D. D., Preface, p. 2.
(2) *Periodical Accounts*, vol. I, p. 60.

an English Protestant agent encouraging a missionary of his sect to learn the language of the Chilian Indians, because « in this study he will be materially aided by a dictionary compiled by the early Popish Missionaries; » (1) while in the northern continent, the capture by the English of the papers of the martyr Sebastian Rasles, we are told, was an « important event, » because amongst them « there was found a vocabulary of the Abenaki language, which the missionary had compiled, and which has been preserved to this day. » (2)

But though they appreciated, they commonly used these indispensable aids without the slightest acknowledgment, and even, when they thought they could do so with safety, affected to be themselves the authors of the very works of which their own were only a feeble and inaccurate copy. And in this singular commerce there seems to have been a rivalry between Russians and Protestants. Thus Klaproth detected that the descriptive part of Timkowski's well known work on China « is taken almost entirely from that of Father Gaubil, whom, » the great orientalist significantly adds, « M. Timkowski has forgotten to name. » (3) In like manner, when M. Papin asked the Protestant director of the English college at Malacca, in 1834, for a copy of the Chinese Grammar of Father Prémare, — the celebrated author of the *Notitia Linguæ Sinicæ*, — which had been reprinted at the college, the following singular fact was reveal-

(1) Gardiner, *Visit to the Indians of Chili*, ch. VI, p. 190.

(2) Bancroft, *History of the United States*, vol. II, p. 940.

(3) Timkowski's, *Travels*, vol. II, ch. II, p. 127; note by Klaproth.

ed. « When we asked the minister for it under this name, he appeared astonished, having never known of the existence of Father Prémare, much less that he was the author of this Grammar; for though it is simply a literal translation of that of the famous Jesuit, the Protestant editor had attributed to himself the whole merit. » (1) And once more; « when the late minister Morrison, of Canton, after having procured the Chinese Dictionary of Father Basil, printed it anew, he announced to the learned world that he was himself the author of it. » The last case is confirmed by the authority of Klaproth, from which there is no appeal, who not only suspected the larceny, but detected, by actual collation, that it was very clumsily executed, and that « Morrison's edition was full of faults. » (2)

And now we may conclude. We have heard enough, perhaps too much, both as to its principle and its result, of the method by which the Protestant communities seek to convert the heathen world. Its *principle* was not only unknown to the Apostles, but emphatically condemned and disavowed by every act of their missionary career; its *result* has been—on the one hand, a wider and more universal profanation of the Holy Scriptures them the evil spirits could have accomplished by any less effective agency; on the other, to confirm, and even, in a certain sense, to justify the pagan world in rejecting a religion presented to them after such a fashion. We are now to compare this method, in every province of the

(1) *Annales*, tome VIII, p. 585.
(2) Ap. Timkowski, vol. I, ch. IX, p. 350, (1827).

earth, will all fidelity and minuteness, with that earlier one which St. Paul employed in the first century, St. Augustine in the sixth, St. Francis in the sixteenth, and which Catholic Missionaries throughout the world still pursue in our own day. The Church, we shall see, does not attempt, any more than her first Apostles did, to convert the heathen world by the circulation of books which were not given for any such purpose — which pagans could not possibly understand, even if they were correctly translated — — and which they have only, as their distributors sorrowfully attest, abused, ridiculed, and defiled. But she knows what her Lord has given her in this treasure, and how to use it. « I have conversed with many catholic ecclesiastics, » is the honest confession of one who spent a fruitless life in the distribution of Protestant Bibles, « and never have I heard one voice lifted up against it : all that they require is, that the edition be conformable to the authorised text. » (1) Before the sects were, the Church had so well guarded that sacred Book, that the chief heresiarch of modern times confessed, « but for her they would never have received it (2). » And this, as her children know, was part of her office. That *she* should not venerate the Divine Scriptures, which are so absolutely her own that they were abandoned by their Author to her sole authority both to define and promulgate; that she should be indifferent to that sacred deposit of which during long ages she was the only guardian; which the incessant and life-long

(1) *Journal of Rev*d *James Connor*, in Jowett's. App. p. 452.
(2) Luther, *Comment. in. S. Joan. Evangel.*

labours of her own servants diligently preserved and multiplied; upon which all her Saints were nourished, and out of which all her Doctors taught; which are daily presented to her priests, in the most solemn function of their ministry, to be reverently kissed; and which she offers at this hour, in every land, without stint or measure, to all who can relish their sweet savour; — this is evidently the dream of the fanatic, or the calumny of the false prophet. She is guiltless indeed of the cruel indecency of putting all the books of the Old Testament into the hands of children, and has not read the words of her first Pontiff (1) with so little profit as to give the Epistles of St. Paul, without note or comment, to women and peasants, or to abandon the mystic Apocalypse to the crude fancies of every disorderly dreamer, or the trivial exegesis of every inflated sophist. And though, as the appointed Teacher of the Nations, she has other guides besides the written word, being the guardian of the apostolic traditions, and taught directly and unceasingly by the immediate inspiration of the Holy Ghost; yet the Church is, in fact and deed, the only true Bible Society; and with such incomparable wisdom and power does she unfold to all her children the mysteries of that eternal book, that even the unlettered peasant, taught at her knees, though he has never learned to read, attains a familiarity with its hidden truths, a keen and living perception of its holiest doctrines, compared with which the bald and superficial *word-knowledge* of the subtlest mind beyond her is pale gross darkness. (2)

(1) II Pet. III. 16.

(2) « The Holy Book, » says one who is at once the most

It is by virtue of this divine power, which she alone possesses, and of which we are about to trace the action in every land, that even the neophyte of Eastern Asia, but yesterday a Buddhist or a Confucian, is to day a devout and enlightened believer, and will be to-morrow a martyr. She has placed no book in his hands, — she has even warned him against the ignoble versions which dishonour the revelation of God, and expose Christianity to the derision of the heathen,— yet her penetrating voice has reached the depths of his heart, and in her minister he has recognised a prophet of the living God. (1) Let us enter, then, without further delay, upon the historical investigation which we have proposed to ourselves, and which alone can reveal to us the process by which this incomparable victory is accomplished. Let us examine, by the aid of Protestant witnesses, the contrast which exists between Catholic and Pro-

popular and the most influential spiritual writer of our age and country, « lies like a bunch of myrrh in the bosom of the Church, a power of sanctification like to which, in kind or in degree, *there is no other*, except the sacraments of the Precious Blood. » Dr Faber, *The Creator and the Creature;* book I, ch. III, p. 69.

(1) « And certainly if any thing were wanting to justify the Latin Church, it would be found in the use made of the Bible by those who have rebelled against her authority, and in the results which have followed and which still follow daily from their use of it. Perceiving with the eyes of the spirit the strong and fierce devil that was entering into the Teutonic nations, and was tempting them to abuse the printing press and the scriptures to their hurt, the Roman Church might seem, and may still seem to superficial or prejudiced observers, to direct against the scriptures themselves that hostility which is really directed against the evil spirit *by whose hand and mouth they are produced.* » *Dissertations on the Orthodox Church*, by Revd W. Palmer, Diss. VII, 1. 135.

testant missions to the heathen. Old fields of controversy are exhausted, but a new one claims, and will repay, our attention. At length we can invite men to an enquiry which will test to the uttermost both the Church and the Sects. We are going to see them both *in action*. The conversion of the heathen world, at once the noblest and the most arduous labour to which the best and wisest of our race have ever devoted their lives, is not less a miracle of divine power than the creation of the physical world. Both are equally impossible to human skill, unaided by the omnipotence of the Most High. Yet man cannot even form any conception of the Christian Church which shall exclude this fundamental idea of her office, *that she is able to convert the Gentiles*. For this she was created. This is what her Founder expects her to do. And it is He who admonished us to apply the supreme test which we are about to employ, when He declared, in ages long past, that none but her messengers should prevail in that superhuman warfare. « *They* shall build the places that have been waste from of old.... And they shall know their seed among the Gentiles, and their offspring in the midst of peoples : all that shall see *them* shall know them, that these are the seed which the Lord hath blessed. » (1)

If, then, we should discover, that at all times and in all places, God has given to one Institution, and to no other, the might and the wisdom by which this miracle is accomplished ; if history should teach us, by the combined testimony of all nations

(1) Isaias XI, 4, 9.

and sects, that He has lavished upon one class alone the highest gifts and graces which the Creator can bestow or the creature use, while He has constantly refused them to every other; finally, if it should appear, that, during the last three centuries, as in the fifteen which went before them, one order of missionaries have every where prevailed against the powers of evil, in spite of the most absolute poverty, and the absence of all human aids and appliances, — while their various rivals, scattering gold on every side, and backed by the whole power of the two greatest nations of the West, have only, by their own confession, left the heathen worse than they found them; then we shall have done well in proposing a new controversy, differing from all others in this, that God has already taken it out of the hands of men, to decide it Himself.

It is with this object that we are going to compare, in all the world, Catholic and Protestant missions to the heathen. If the attempt has never been made before, it was because the results of the latter were hitherto imperfectly known, or not fully developed, or not yet registered in the pages of history. It was impossible to obtain at an earlier date the materials for the contrast which we are about to trace in every land. Even Bossuet could not have written the *Histoire des Variations*, if he had lived half a century earlier. The day has arrived when a new chapter may be added, not inferior in interest or importance, though compiled by an unskilled and feeble hand, to those which the world owes to the almost unrivalled genius of the Bishop of Meaux, and of which the effect was to annihilate Protestantism in

France. Protestant missions, it is true, are only of modern date; but they are at length old enough to enable us to apply to them that searching test from which their advocates would not willingly appear to shrink, because it is that which our Lord recommended to His disciples when He said : *By their fruits ye shall know them.*

CHAPTER II.

MISSIONS IN CHINA.

PART I.

CATHOLIC MISSIONS.

There is a land, unvisited by Persian, Greek, or Roman, which for ages stood apart, « like a world within itself, in the remote unknown Eastern Asia. » (1) Kingdoms arose and passed away, nations were formed and again dissolved, while this remained unconscious either of progress or decay. Yet here more than one third of the whole human family had their dwelling. Here « a colossal empire, thronged with innumerable inhabitants, skilled in the arts, in manufactures, in agriculture, and in commerce, » (2) wrought out its hidden destiny, during

(1) F. Von Schlegel, *Philosophy of History*, Lect. III.
(2) Huc, *Le Christianisme en Chine*, tome II, p. 2.

more than two thousand years, without once revealing to the rest of mankind the secrets of its philosophy, its laws, or its religion.

At length the gates of this eastern world have been thrown open, that Europe might enter in, and her sons go to and fro in the land, bidding China look face to face upon races whom for twenty centuries she had refused to know. And already men begin to speculate upon the issues of this unfinished conquest. Will China, they ask, consent to receive from the West that divine philosophy so long rejected with ignorant contempt, and unlearn the delusions, both in religion and science, which have made her people atheists and her sages pedants? Such questions, which lie beyond the limits of our immediate enquiry, are not unworthy of the interest which they have awakened in the two most powerful nations of Europe. But our business in these pages is with the past rather than the future. What China may become hereafter, we know not; what she has been, we have learned from men who did not wait for a haughty and reluctant sanction to tread her forbidden soil. For more than three hundred years, they, and they only, outstripping the noble curiosity of science, as well as the more eager impatience of a commerce always striving to enlarge its sphere, had displayed the superhuman valour which forced even an enemy to confess, — « Where neither merchant nor traveller has penetrated, the Roman Catholic missionaries have found their way. » (1) It was from

(1) Gutzlaff, *China Opened.*, vol, I, ch. VI, p. 180. Cf. Humboldt, *Asie Centrale*, tome I, p. 27.

them that Europe received the only exact knowledge which it possessed of this remote land; for though others, at a later date, moved by the desire of gain, and accepting the humiliations by which alone it could be secured, found a hiding-place rather than a home in some of her sea-port towns; the Missionaries of the Cross alone — in defiance of every menace, of torture, and of death — have braved the capricious fury of her rulers, penetrated her most distant provinces, and traversed in their apostolic course the whole extent of her vast empire, from the sea of China, across the great wall, to the plains of Tartary and Thibet, and from the gulf of Siam on the South to the shores of the sea of Okhost in the North. It is the history of their toils and sufferings, of their labours and triumphs, which we are now to relate.

It is not necessary to our purpose that we should trace the earlier fortunes of Christianity in China. If St. Thomas the Apostle, as some have deemed, passed from India into China, and his message was rejected by her people, the fact would perhaps explain her subsequent calamities, but this is all the instruction we could derive from it. The question, upon which history throws only a faint light, does not belong to our subject. Nor do the early Nestorian missions, of which almost every trace has been obliterated (1), — unless we find a vestige of them, as Thévénot suggests, in the Lamaseries of Thibet, — possess any claim to our attention. It was the misfortune, perhaps a judicial one, of southern and eastern Asia to be visited in early ages by false

(1) Henrion, *Histoire des Missions catholiques*, tome I, p. 377.

apostles, deeply tainted with heresy; and to this fact has been attributed a large share of the multiplied disasters which have marked the course of religion in these ill-fated countries. But these are subjects altogether foreign to the special enquiry which we are about to pursue. It is enough to know that before our Saxon forefathers were converted, Christianity had been preached in China. The monumental stone discovered in 1625 near the city of Si-ngan-fou, the authenticity of which, though ridiculed by Voltaire, no one now disputes, decisively proves that China was evangelised before the *seventh* century (1). Even Gibbon allows that « the Christianity of China between the seventh and thirteenth century is invincibly proved by the consent of Chinese, Arabian, Syriac, and Latin evidence. » (2) In the *latter* century, there was already an archbishop at Pekin, who had under his jurisdiction four suffragan bishops (3); and in the *fourteenth*, Pope Clement the Fifth appointed the celebrated Franciscan John de Monte Corvino as metropolitan, — « a man, » as Neander observes, « in whom we recognise the pattern of a true missionary, who spared no pains in giving the people the word of God in their own language. » (4) From this date we may advance at once to the later epoch with which alone we are concern-

(1) Blumhardt, *Histoire Générale de l'Établissement du Christianisme*, tome III, ch. XXXI, p. 38; Giesler, *Ecclesiast. Hist.*, vol, I. p. 353; Marco Polo's, *Travels*, ch. XV, p. 309, ed. Wright.

(2) *Decline and Fall*, ch. XLVII.

(3) *Journal Asiatique*, tome I, p. 135.

(4) *History of the Christian Religion and Church*, vol. VII, p. 76, ed. Torrey.

ed, and every incident of which has been narrated, either by friends or enemies, with all the minuteness and precision of contemporaneous history.

In 1552, St-Francis-Xavier left Goa for China, eager to proclaim in that land the Name which he had already announced to so many thousands in other regions. But his course was run; and the Master whom he had loved and served so well summoned His apostle to rest from his labours. He expired on the shores of the island of Sancian, abandoned by the treacherous Chinese whom he had hired to convey him to Canton.

Almost the very hour in which St-Francis died saw the birth of one who was destined to take his place, and upon whom the richest endowments both of nature and grace appear to have been lavished. No gift which might qualify him for his great career seems to have been denied to this eminent man. In him were united prudence, constancy, and magnanimity of soul; profound genius, cultivated by the most famous masters of the age; delicacy and refinement of taste, unwearied industry, and habitual mortification. In 1583, Father Ricci landed in China; and then began that famous conflict between the powers of light and darkness, in which this intrepid apostle battled for twenty-seven years, and which forms the opening chapter in the history of modern missions in China.

It is that history which we are now to attempt to trace, and of which all the incidents may be conveniently arranged under three principal epochs. The first extends from the arrival of Ricci to the death of the emperor Cang-hi in 1722; the second from the

accession of his son, Yong-Tching, and the era of persecution which he introduced, to the suppression of the Society of Jesus in 1773; the third from the revival of the missions in the first quarter of the present century to our own day. The chief events of these three periods shall now be briefly sketched, with only such an amount of detail as is absolutely necessary to exhibit the facts which it is proposed to illustrate in these volumes, viz. — the *character* of the missionaries, the *method* of their operations, and the *results* of their labours. As the Catholics come first in order of time we have no alternative but to begin with them.

Ricci landed at Canton. Without money, and without books, he commenced the work for the success of which he trusted only, like St-Paul, to his own vocation, and the grace of God. Dependent from the first moment of his arrival upon the caprice of the Viceroy, nothing could be more precarious than his position during the earlier years of his residence in China. Once he was obliged to yield to the fury of the heathen, and retired to Macao; but he was not a man to be daunted by peril or discouraged by suffering, and before long he was once more in the city from which he had been summarily banished. He had resolved to penetrate into the interior of China, or perish in the attempt. (1)

On his first landing, he had assumed the habit of a *Bonze*, supposing, by a natural error, that men who exercised priestly functions, and professed an ascetic

(1) *Vie du P. Ricci*, par le R. P. d'Orléans. See also *Vie du R.P. Ricci, Apôtre de la Chine*, par Charles Sainte-Foi, Paris, 1859.

life, would be respected by their own followers. But when he had ascertained that no garb was less likely to attract the esteem of the Chinese, a happier inspiration led him to adopt that of the *Literates*, which the members of his Order ever after retained during their career in China. His first convert seems to have been a poor outcast, whom he found dying by the road-side; but there was little promise as yet of the day, which only his ardent faith and unfailing courage could have ventured to anticipate, when nobles and princes were to become his disciples, and even the supreme ruler of that wide empire was to acknowledge him as a friend, a companion, and a guide.

Meanwhile, he had acquired such a mastery of the purest Chinese dialect, that his compositions already began to excite the admiration of the most learned and critical readers, and one of them was destined to fill the place, which it still occupies, in the imperial library. (1) Thus prepared for the work to which he had devoted his life, he set out on his journey to Pekin. Months, and even years, were to elapse before that journey was completed. Through every obstacle he fought his way, always prudent but never wavering, and scattering as he went the seed of the Gospel. Many of the more learned Chinese, attracted by an eloquence which they knew how to admire, and captivated by the sublime truths which he unfolded to them, embraced the faith; but he had set his face towards Pekin, and would not abandon his purpose. Already he approached Nankin, and it was now as easy to go forwards as to retrace his steps. In

(1) Bridgman, *Chinese Chrestomathy*, Introd., p. 31.

crossing the Yang-tse-Kiang he was nearly drowned, but though one of his companions perished, his own hour was not yet come. When his luggage was examined at the custom-house, a crucifix was found, which the officer on duty considered « a charm to take away the life of the emperor. » This barrier passed, he still pursued his way, gathering converts wherever he stopped, and almost always of the highest class. Turned back from one city, he fled to another. Always calm and collected, no difficulty took him by surprise, no snare tripped him up. Refused admission into a town, he left it on one side, and passed on his way; until at length, overcoming every obstacle by prudence, sagacity, and fortitude, he accomplished a journey unparalleled in the annals of modern enterprise, and stood within the walls of the capital. And now, after twenty years of toil and suffering, he began to reap in joy what he had sown with tears.

« Few men ever lived, » says a well known Protestant missionary, of whom we shall hear more hereafter, « who did so much within a short space of time as this Jesuit. » And then this unfriendly witness adds, « It will scarcely be credited that at his death there existed in Keang-nan province alone thirty churches; » and that a little later, « there were few large cities where some Christians might not be found. » (1) What manner of of Christians they were, we shall learn immediately.

Ricci was now established not only in Pekin, but within the precints of the imperial palace. His hu-

(1) Gutzlaff, vol. II, ch. xv, p. 229.

man science he willingly employed in the service of the emperor, reserving only the rights of apostolic dignity by refusing all recompense; he consented to be a mathematician and a philosopher at court, on condition that he should be only a missionary every where else. In both characters he was successful. Among the most eminent of the earlier converts, attracted by his luminous teaching and mortified life, was the mandarin Paul Seu, one of the highest officers of the empire, whose whole family appear to have embraced the faith which their descendants still profess at the present day. Du Halde relates of his grand-daughter Candida, that « during thirty-four years of widowhood she imitated perfectly those holy widows whose character St. Paul has described to us, founded thirty churches in her own part of the country, and caused nineteen to be built in different provinces of the Empire. (1) » And the grace which she used so well has abided from that hour in her house and lineage, so that a reluctant witness reports, in 1858, that « part of the descendants of Seu are now Romanists. » (2) Three centuries of unrelenting persecution have failed so completely to uproot the churches founded by Ricci, that the same writer is obliged to confess, with unfeigned displeasure, that in the single province first evangelized by him, the Catholics at this hour « *number about seventy thousand souls.* » It is well to commence our history with a fact, attested by eager

(1) Du Halde, tome III, pp. 79 et seqq.

(2) *Life in China*, by Rev^{d} W. C. Milne, ch. IV, p. 474, (1858).

adversaries, which illustrates so impressively, not merely the success of the first generation of missionaries, but the almost unexampled solidity and permanence of its results.

But it was not only the nobles and statesmen of China who consented to become the disciples of Ricci, and to learn wisdom from the lips of the stranger. St. Paul had gathered neophytes even in the palace of the Roman emperor, and Ricci administered the sacrament of baptism in that of the sovereign of China. In 1605, three princes of the imperial family were added to the company of the faithful, on the feast of the Epiphany, and received the names of Melchior, Gaspard, and Balthasar. How they, and other princes of their race, adorned their profession when the hour of trial arrived, we shall hear presently from competent witnesses.

That such a missionary as Ricci should have foreseen the inevitable day of suffering, and endeavoured to prepare his spiritual children to meet it with fortitude, can hardly surprise us. He knew, while he was baptizing princes and nobles in Pekin, that persecution had already commenced in the provinces. It was only the true soldier of the cross who would be able to prevail in that terrible warfare of which China was soon to be the theatre. None, therefore, were admitted into the Church but with excessive precaution, and after making « a public declaration of their faith, *composed by themselves.* » (1) « The Mandarins venture all, » says Le Comte, » as soon as they think of becoming

(1) Du Halde and Henrion.

Christians; » (1) and both they and their teachers knew it. Their position resembled, in every point, that of the primitive converts; and we shall see that, from one end of the empire to the other, they ressembled them in the inflexibility of their faith, and in their contempt of suffering and death.

The first apostle of China had done the work committed to him. « He had only spent twenty seven years in China, » says Mr Gutzlaff, « and during that time he had executed an Herculean task. He was the first Catholic Missionary who penetrated into the empire, and when he died, *there were more than three hundred churches in the different provinces.* » (2) It is true that Mr Gutzlaff, whose own operations will be described to us by his associates, — from whom we shall learn that he was more successful in amassing wealth than in making Christians, — adds disdainfully, « they converted thousands without touching the heart. » The dungeons and scaffolds of China will tell us whether Mr Gutzlaff was right.

A few days before Ricci died, he addressed his sorrowing companions in these words. « My fathers, when I reflect by what means I may most efficaciously propagate the Christian faith among the Chinese, I find none better nor more persuasive than my death. » And, in truth, as a modern writer observes, « By his public interment, with the emperors' official sanction, he legalized Christianity in China. » (3)

(1) *The Present State of China*, Letter XII, p. 411, (1737).
(2) *History of China*, vol. II, p. 121.
(3) Huc, tome II, p. 249.

It was in 1610 that Ricci terminated his apostolic career, and now the events were at hand which were to try his work. Only five years after his death so fierce a storm broke out, that even the Fathers at Pekin, hitherto respected by the persecutor, were banished to Macao, and for a time the further progress of the faith seemed to be effectually stopped. But it had been decreed that there should never be wanting apostles to continue the work which Ricci had begun, and in 1628 Adam Schaal was installed as his successor, with the title of « president of the mathematical tribunal, » the emperor finding his own subjects utterly incompetent to fill the place of Ricci and his companions. Religion once more found an entrance into the capital, under the protection of philosophy and science.

Of all the objections urged by the infidels of the eighteenth century against revealed religion, few were more specious, none more delusive, than that which was founded upon the supposed antiquity of Chinese science. Protestant writers of our own age have sufficiently exposed the transparent impostures of Voltaire and his school. « It has been proved, » says Mr Montgomery Martin, « that the early astronomical observations of the Chinese were absolute forgeries, as the Jesuits found no one able to calculate an eclipse. » (1) « Their acquaintance with the exact sciences, » observes Mr Hugh Murray, » cannot for a moment bear comparison with that of Europeans. » (2) « Whatever is valuable in

(1) *China, Political, Commercial, and Social*, vol. I, p. 78.
(2) *Historical and Descriptive Account of China*, ch. III, p. 225

Chinese astronomical science, » adds Mr Gutzlaff, has been borrowed from the treatises of Roman Catholic missionaries. » (1) The accuracy of their observations, fixing the position of innumerable places throughout the Chinese empire, and ranging through 33° of latitude and 23° of longitude, is attested by sir John Davis; (2) while Mr Thornton declares that Chinese chronology rightly examined, rather confirms than contradicts the Mosaic account. (3)

How eagerly successive emperors of China acknowledged the rare qualifications of the Jesuits, and profited by their learning, is attested by all the authorities. It was the science of the missionaries, as Krusenstern remarks, and the fascination of their personal character, which secured their welcome at court; though he perhaps exaggerates when he adds, that « the fondness for literature which has actuated some of the emperors is the only reason of their being tolerated. » (4) It is true, however, as Astley notices, that in spite of the friendship and esteem of various emperors, « their religion being but barely tolerated, they were always in danger of persecution. » (5) It is demonstrated, says M. Pauthier, who has done much to elucidate the history of China, « that the toleration extended to the missionaries was only due to the intercession of those who were in favour at

(1) *China Opened*, vol. II, ch. XIV, p. 169.
(2) *Sketches of China*, vol. I, ch. IX, p. 264.
(3) *History of China*, by Thomas Thornton esq., Preface, p. 13.
(4) *Voyage Round the World*, vol. II, p. 319.
(5) *Voyages and Travels*, vol. IV, p. 233.

court (1). » Hence the apparent contradiction of the Chinese, at different times and places, and the singular contrast between the honours lavished upon the missionaries in one city, and the torments inflicted upon their colleagues in another.

Adam Schaal, to whom we must return, was now the chief representative of Christianity and science in the capital of China. But he was not alone. In 1631, the Dominicans and Franciscans began to arrive, and in spite of the perils which surrounded them on every side, the apostolic husbandmen spread themselves over the land in every direction, from Canton to the great wall of China, and even into Tartary and Mongolia. Nor was their labour vain. « The harvest became so plentiful, » says one who watched its aftergrowth, « that the workmen were too few to gather it in » (2). « The progress of the Missionaries, » observes an English writer, « was in general triumphant, though interrupted by fearful vicissitudes; till, towards the end of the Ming dynasty, they were almost supreme in the palace. » (3) « Few missions in pagan countries, » says a Protestant agent in China, « have been more favoured with zealous converts, or their missionaries more aided and countenanced by rich and noble supporters, than the early papal missions to China. » (4) He had reason to say it, for it was at this time that the mother of the emperor, his principal wife, and finally his eldest son, were bap-

(1) *La Chine*, p. 442.

(2) Le Comte, Letter XI, p. 364.

(3) *The British World in the East;* by Leigtch Ritchie; vol. II, p. 229.

(4) *The Middle Kingdom*,

tized by Father Koffler, and shortly after despatched to Rome, to Pope Alexander VII, the celebrated letter which has been so often quoted, and upon which such great hopes were founded. But if the emperor permitted his nearest relatives to profess the Christian faith, and even distinguished by special favours the missionaries who did not fear thus to exercise their ministry under his own eyes, it was mainly to their personal qualities that the capricious toleration was due. « The Mandarins, » said their sovereign, « ask me daily for new favours; but *Ma fa.* » — this was the name which he had given to Schaal, who had just completed the reform of the calendar — « though he knows that I love him, always refuses even those which I press him to accept. » And when the fearless missionary acted the part of S^t^ John the Baptist, and rebuked the monarch's vices, the latter only replied, « I pardon your invectives, because I am convinced that you love me. »

A characteristic anecdote will illustrate the relations between the emperor and this celebrated missionary; who, after being the friend and companion of the last sovereign of the Ming dynasty, continued to receive the same marks of esteem from the two first Tartar emperors, although the Tartar invasion had been successfully resisted in the south by *Christian* Chinese generals. (1) It is a custom in China that when the emperor has occupied any chair or seat in the house of one of his subjects, it is immediately covered with yellow stuff, the imperial colour, and

(1) *History of the Tartar Conquerors of China*, Introd., p. 6, ed. Hakluyt Society.

none may henceforth sit upon it. One day when Chun-tche, the second of the Mantcheou dynasty, paid a visit to Father Schaal, as he sat down sometimes on the bed, sometimes elsewhere, wherever he found a seat, the Father said to him, langhing, « But where does your majesty intend me to sit hereafter»? « Wherever you like, » replied the monarch, « you and I are not on terms of ceremony. » (1)

Ou the death of this emperor, a formidable persecution arose, during the minority of his successor, Cang-hi; for though, as the Père d'Orleans relates, « the four regents even conferred the title of preceptor to the young emperor on father Adam, a cabal of bonzes and Mahometans excited such a tempest against Christianity as to result in an attempt at its extermination. » (2) The venerable Adam Schaal, at the age of seventy-four, was loaded with chains and cast into prison, together with a crowd of converted Mandarins, of whom five were martyred. Schaal was sentenced to be strangled and chopped in pieces; but it is related that whenever the judges assembled to read the decree, they were forced by earthquakes to fly from the tribunal, and that the people, interpreting the portent as a warning from heaven, obtained a reversal of the judgment. « The whole land, » says Le Comte, « was confounded at this prodigy. » But Schaal, exhausted by infirmity and the sufferings which he had no longer strength to endure, sank under the outrages which he had received, and died in 1666. « Fallen from fame, » says the Père

(1) Henrion, tome II, p. 376.
(2) *History of the Tartar Conquerors*, etc., Book I, p. 45.

d'Orleans, « deprived of his dignities, loaded with reproach and calumny, he endured imprisonment and fetters, showing by his constancy that he considered himself even more happy to confess the name of Christ in a dungeon than to have preached it with honour in a palace. »

Schall was now removed, and peremptory orders being issued by the provisional governors, the flames of persecution were rekindled throughout the whole empire. Twenty-five missionaries, of whom twenty-one were Jesuits, were seized, and deported from the interior to Canton. Here they waited till the storm should lull, nor was it long before their patience was rewarded, and they were once more in the midst of their flocks. In 1671, Father Ferdinand Verbiest, the successor of Adam Schaal, obtained once again from the new emperor, over whom he had acquired supreme influence, a respite for his brethren; and in that single year, as a candid Protestant writer notices, more than twenty thousand Chinese were converted. (1) Persecution had borne its usual fruits, and the example of the confessors, according to the law of Christian missions, had won the admiration of the pagans for the faith which could inspire so much courage and fortitude. In 1672, an uncle of the emperor, besides many other persons of the highest rank, including one of the eight perpetual generals who commanded the Tartar forces, embraced Christianity; and the missionnaries had good reason to believe that, after a few more trials and vicissitudes, the Cross would triumph in China.

(1) Medhurst, *China, its State and Prospects*, ch. IX, p. 232.

Verbiest was no unworthy successor of Ricci and Schaal. « Reckon me, O Lord, » he was accustomed to say, according to the testimony of his companions, « among those who have desired, but were not permitted, to shed their blood for Thee. Under the veil of Thine infinite mercy, I dare offer my life as a sacrifice to Thee. » In such a temper he laboured during nearly twenty years, enjoying the confidence and esteem of Cang-hi, who was not only captivated by his science and learning, but deeply affected by the display of apostolic virtues which he had carefully tested, by means worthy of an Asiatic monarch. That men of the stamp of Verbiest, and his companions Grimaldi and Pereira, versed in all the mysteries of human science, should constantly reject the dignities and emoluments offered to them, and deliberately prefer to spend life in an unbroken course of prayer, fasting, and continence, appeared to the Tartar prince a fact which deserved investigation; and by his orders spies were secretly appointed to watch the missionaries in their private hours, who were able to describe, to the astonishment of their royal master, the holy and mortified lives of Verbiest and his brethren. The effect of this discovery upon the all-powerful sovereign of China was full of auspicious fruits for the missions; so that when, in 1685, a fresh company of missionaries arrived at Ningpo, whose entrance was violently opposed by the heathen mandarins, Cang-hi, who had learned to appreciate them, wrote thus with his own hand to his too zealous subordinates. « It is not men of their character who should be driven from my empire. Let them all come to my court; such as know mathematics shall

stay near my person, the rest may go into the provinces wherever they please. »

Three years later, in 1655, Verbiest died, and it seemed a bright and cheering prospect upon which the missionary closed his eyes. Every where religion was extending its peaceful sway; and already, in spite of repeated persecutions, the christian churches of China might be counted by hundreds. It was the emperor himself who pronounced the eulogy of the great missionary who had now departed, and even published a solemn edict, « as a public testimony of affection towards him, » in which he made the characteristic remark, that « not one of his calculations as to the movements of the heavenly bodies had ever been wrong. » It is of Verbiest that Mr Medhurst, with the candour which distinguishes his writings, and which made him an estimable man though it could not make him a successful missionary, gives the following account.

« His character for humility and modesty was only equalled by his well known application and industry. He seemed insensible to every thing but the promotion of science and religion; he abstained from idle visits, the reading of curious books, and even the perusal of European newspapers; while he incessantly employed himself either in mathematical calculations, in instructing proselytes, in corresponding with the grandees of the empire in the interests of the mission, or in writing to the learned of Europe, inviting them to repair to China. His private papers are indicative of the depth of his devotion, the rigour of his austerities, his watchfulness over his heart amid the crowd of business, and

the ardour with which he served religion. » (1)

But Verbiest, wise and good as he was, cannot be distinguished from thousands of apostles whom the church, as we shall see in the course of these pages, has sent forth into all lands during the last three centuries. Within a few weeks of his death, Fathers Gerbillon and Bouvet were received at court, and occupied in the esteem of the imperial philosopher the same place which had been held successively by Schaal and Verbiest. It was Cang-hi who obliged them to learn the Tartar dialect, which he preferred to speak, and constantly examined them himself to ascertain the progress which they were making in his favorite language. In all his journies he carried with him one or more of the missionaries, from whose society he seems rarely to have separated himself, and with whom he lived on such terms of unwonted intimacy as excited the envy and astonishment of the greatest officers of the empire. His first question on arriving at any town had always reference to the missionary who dwelt in it. At Nankin, where father Gabiani and his companions refrained, out of humility, from presenting themselves before him, « the emperor waited for them two days, till at length becoming impatient at their absence, he sent to them a Mandarin of his household named Chao, a zealous friend of the fathers of Pekin, to reproach them with not having come to see him; » and after presenting them with gifts, and asking them « if they had not some image of Jesus-Christ about them, » he informed them, that, as a special mark of favour,

(1) Ch. IX, p. 234.

« on his return he would pass before the door of their house (1). »

In 1702, four years after the death of Verbiest. a noble church, built within the precincts of the palace, was solemnly opened, the first Mass being celebrated by Father Gerbillon. When the envious Mandarins remonstrated with Cang-hi about the dimensions of this church, which overshadowed a portion of the imperial edifice, he answered; « What would you have me do? These foreigners render me every day important services, for which I know not how to recompense them; they refuse all offices and employments, money they will not touch; religion is the only thing they care for, and it is in this alone that I can give them any gratification. Speak to me no more about it. » (2)

Many other illustrations might be added of the influence exerted by the missionaries in this pagan court, and its effects upon the progress of religion in China. It was natural that the extraordinary favours manifested by successive emperors towards the missionaries should deeply impress all who witnessed them. Father Verbiest relates that in 1682 he accompanied the reigning sovereign to eastern Tartary, and that he was placed under the special care of the uncle and father-in-law of the emperor during the whole expedition. Ten horses from the imperial stables were set apart for his use, and while « all the other Mandarins were obliged to spend great sums from their own resources, » the expenses of

(1) D'Orléans, *History of the Tartar Conquerors*, etc., p. 98.
(2) *Lettres Édifiantes et Curieuses*, tome XVII, p. 87.

the missionary were defrayed by the emperor. If any difficulty occurs during the journey, such as the passage of a swollen torrent, the first care of the emperor, though accompanied by his son and heir, is for the safety of father Verbiest. « Where is he? » was his anxious enquiry on one occasion, when night had overtaken them at a dangerous ford, and he insisted upon his entering into his own boat, having himself crossed the stream a second time to search for him; an act, as father Verbiest observes, which « caused no little comment among the multitude of eminent persons, who, through the night and following day, were toiling to effect their passage. » (1)

Father Pereira, who received in his turn similar honours, relates, that he would sometimes say in joke to his courtiers; « Take heed of controversy with the Christian teachers, for their knowledge compels you to agree with them on every subject, and, what is more, they worship in my presence, when occasion offers, the highest God. » He adds, that « many of the courtiers, who used formerly to address their prayers to heaven, are now ashamed to use that name, and only pray to the personal God (2). » But we have now sufficient evidence on this point, and it is time to enter without further details upon the second period of our history.

Thus far, amid partial reverses, and trials which only purified the faith of the converts, the missionaries had triumphed. From one extremity of the country to the other, the name of Jesus and the constancy

(1) D'Orleans, Appendix, p. 114.
(2) *Ibid.*, p. 143.

of His worshippers had become known. The new Christians were now sufficiently fortified in the love of God, and the practices of religion, to bear the sharp trial through which, sooner or later, every newly founded church must pass. One hand alone restrained the storm, and that hand was about to lose its strength. In 1722, the emperor Cang-hi died, at the age of sixty nine, full of love and admiration of the missionaries, but too much enslaved by earthly passions to embrace their doctrine. He had served them rather than himself, and having lost the opportunity so freely offered to him, and neglected the grace accepted by so many of his kinsfolk, was now to be taken away. His son and successor, Yong-Tching, whose vanity is said to have been wounded by the calm superiority of his Christian relatives, and their stedfast rejection of the ancient superstitions, immediately issued a decree of extermination against the religion of Jesus, and in that year of evil omen « all the missionnaries without distinction were driven from their churches; more than three hundred churches were either destroyed or converted to profane uses; and more than three hundred thousand Christians were abandoned to the fury of the heathen. » (1)

The second epoch of Christianity in China had now commenced. From the hour in which Yong-Tching ascended the throne to the present time, it was only by the loss of all earthly goods, and often at the cost of life itself, that a Chinese could embrace the religion of the cross. Our Christian forefathers of

(1) Du Halde.

the first three centuries had endured the same trial; and men have justly deemed it a conclusive proof of the divinity of their religion, that it could survive the persecutions which would have annihilated any system or policy of human invention. The Church in China has displayed exactly the same proof of its divine origin. One hundred and forty years have passed away since Yong-Tching isued his decree, and there are more than three times as many Christians in China at this moment as when he resolved to purge the empire of their presence. Princes and nobles, soldiers and peasants, women and children, have passed in turn through the fiery furnace, but each class has triumphed even in death. The work of Ricci and his successors was now to encounter the formidable test which they had foreseen, and of which we are about to witness the application. If their disciples fall away when the storm bursts upon them, it will prove that they had built on no solid foundation; if they endure, like the primitive Christians, every torment which the malice of men or demons could invent, and glorify at the stake or on the scaffold the Saviour for whom they shed their blood, we shall confess that His grace was upon them, lifting them above nature, and subduing the flesh to the spirit.

Among the earliest victims of the terrible persecution which now raged from one end of China to the other, and in which Mandarins of all ranks vied with each other in executing the sanguinary edicts of their master, were several of the emperor's nearest relatives. These members of the royal house had been nurtured in all the pride and pomp of the

Chinese court; one of them had even been named as a probable successor to the throne; the greatest officers of the state had been wont to approach them only on their knees. They were now summoned, not to disavow their convictions, but only to pay external homage to the state religion. It was the same easy compromise which had so often been proposed to the primitive converts, and which those true soldiers of Christ had calmly rejected. The Chinese princes were Christians of the same class, and had been formed by apostles of the same school. The divine admonition had sunk deep into their hearts which said, « You cannot drink the chalice of the Lord, and the chalice of devils. » (1) With one consent, therefore, they refused to touch the unclean thing; and the whole family, including several brothers of the emperor, were degraded and exiled. Let us follow them to the scene of their long trial, in which they displayed, during many years, such patient resignation, that by the contemplation of their unmoved fortitude, amidst poverty, famine, and disease, several heathen members of the imperial family, undaunted by the prospect of a similar lot, embraced the law of Christ.

Prince John, the third in age of this company of royal confessors, wrote thus from his place of exile in Tartary to his friend and director Father Parennin. « What we now desire, and what you must beg of God for us, is, that by the help of His grace we may correct our faults, practise virtue, conform ourselves to His holy will, and persevere to

(1) Cor. x. 21.

the end in His holy service. This is the only object of our desires; the rest we count for nothing. » The same quiet and sober but invincible courage, which we shall find to be a characteristic of the Chinese martyrs and confessors, was displayed by all his companions, and always with the simple dignity of language which befitted the occasion. From first to last, they are calm and collected, as if they remembered Whose honour was entrusted to them, and knew how to be heroes without clamour or exaggeration.

« You know not, » said another of the princes, whose servant wept on seeing him loaded with heavy chains, « the preciousness of sufferings, and yet you are a Christian! Learn that they are the pledge of a blessed eternity. Do not, then, be discouraged, but, whatever it may cost you, continue stedfast in the faith, and never abandon the service of God. » We almost seem to hear the solemn voice of the great Apostle : « Think not strange the burning heat which is to try you, as if some new thing happened to you : But if you partake of the sufferings of Christ, rejoice that when His glory shall be revealed, you also may be glad with exceeding joy. » (1)

The same prince, when another servant offered to cover with linen the places bruised by the chains, which are said to have weighed seventy pounds, repulsed him with these words: « Did you ever hear that in the night of His Passion our Lord endeavoured to loose the cords with which He was bound, or that He placed bandages under them to relieve the smart?

(1) Pet. IV. 12, 13.

This was the God-Man; and yet He suffered for us sinners, while we do not suffer for others, but for ourselves. » (1)

The ladies of the imperial family displayed equal patience and generosity in the midst of want and sufferings of every kind, aggravated by the memory of a former life of ease and luxury. « These illustrious persons, » says a Protestant historian, « were sent as exiles into a desolate part of Tartary; the princesses were exposed to the hazard of perishing with cold and hunger. Yet in 1736 we find the members of the imperial family still adhering to the Christian religion. » (2) Fourteen years of persecution, sometimes violent and cruel, at others subtle and insidious, had failed to exhaust their strength, or to pluck from their hearts the faith which had been planted in them.

« When one reflects, » said their guide and counsellor, Father Parennin, at an earlier period of their exile, « what this illustrious family has suffered during four years past, it is difficult to conceive a more formidable trial, or one which could be endured with more Christian generosity. Princesses of the royal blood, who had always lived in splendour and affluence, fallen to the lowest depths of indigence; without the support of their husbands, with no relatives to succour them, nor friends to console; having ever before their eyes the spectacle of their sons in chains, destined to death, and their young daughters, more hapless still, whose lot is worse than

(1) *Lettres Édifiantes*, tome XX, p. 54.
(2) Hugh Murray's, *China*, vol. I, ch. VIII, p. 275.

death; unable to receive the sacraments, the only consolation which they could taste in the sad condition to which they are reduced; — to endure all these woes, and yet to bear such a deluge of suffering, not only without diminution of faith, though so recently converted to Christianity, but without uttering so much as one accent of complaint; must we not confess, that even the constancy of the Christian heroes of the first ages of the Church offers nothing more admirable, nothing more heroic? » Well might Father Parennin exclaim, alluding to the reluctant respect paid by the emperor to himself and his colleagues at Pekin, « Oh! for fewer favours to the missionaries, and more justice to the religion which they preach! » He had himself spent more than forty years in China, was the intimate friend of Cang-hi, whom he accompanied during eighteen years in all his journeys into Tartary; and even Yong-Tching paid the expenses of a public funeral for the illustrious missionary, who, as the Russian Timkowski observes, « is well known for the share he had in fixing the frontier between Russia and China. » (1) Parennin was a competent judge of Christian heroism, and himself a master of the spiritual life; yet he declares, in his letters to Europe, that nothing could surpass « the sublime virtues » displayed by these admirable confessors. Promises and threats were employed by turns to seduce their constancy. « You are Mantcheou, » said their former friends, with ingenious perseverance; « You belong to the royal blood, and yet you renounce the customs of your ancestors to

(1) Timkowski's *Travels*, vol. II, ch. 1, p. 35.

follow a strange law! » But remonstrance and sarcasm, blandishments and menaces, were equally vain. The members of the Portuguese and Russian embassies, who visited China at this period, were filled with astonishment at the fortitude of these new Christians, and declared, on their return to Europe, that « they had found the Primitive Church in the remotest wilds of Asia. »

But the emperor was as stedfast in his purpose to conquer, as they in their resolution to endure. Furious at the calm patience which baffled all his efforts, he now ordered them to be removed from their place of exile, and shut up, one by one, in small prisons, six feet by ten. Into these dens their daily allowance of food, barely sufficient to maintain life, was introduced through a small aperture, by which alone they maintained a semblance of intercourse with the outer world. Already they were beginning to sink under their protracted miseries, and in a few days, one of the princes, when visited by the guard, was found lifeless on the floor of his cell. One by one they died. A little while, and all would have been added to the company of martyrs; but at this moment the hand of God, who often seems to delay but strikes at last, was stretched forth, and Yong-Tching was called to his account. In 1735 he expired, and his son Kien-long reigned in his stead.

One of the first acts of the new emperor, in the year which followed his accession, was to order the release of the surviving princes, who had so long been buried alive by his father's command. As the noble band, of whom one was the tenth son of Cang-hi, passed on their way to the palace from which

they had been banished for fifteen years, the people knelt with respect, and filled the air with acclamations. But the hopes which their release awakened were of short duration. Kien-long, though naturally humane, was unwilling to bring shame on the policy of his father, and once more the decree went forth to persecute the Christians.

We have seen, by sufficient evidence, how converts of exalted rank witnessed a good confession in exile or in bonds, and wore out by patient endurance the malice of the persecutor. Let us enquire whether disciples of a humbler class found strength to imitate the courage of these Christian princes, and to glorify the Holy Name in the hour of trial. The world has agreed in every age, to accept this supreme test of faith. It knows that men are not so enamoured of torment as to yield their limbs to the knife or the brand, when a word or a sign would deliver them from both, in any meaner cause than that for which St-Peter was crucified, and St-Paul beheaded. Other religions have produced fanatics, Christianity alone may boast of martyrs; and the only form of Christianity which has ever begotten willing ones is that which was preached in China by Ricci and Schaal, by Verbiest and Parennin. We are about to trace the historical results of their preaching. For nearly three centuries the blood of martyrs has flowed in all the provinces of China, in the empire of Annam, and the kingdom of Corea. The struggles and the triumphs of the first three ages of Christianity have been renewed, through an equal space of time, in the regions beyond the Ganges. We have no space to recount all the details of that still unfinished warfare. Our

attempt will be limited to such a sketch, necessarily incomplete and fragmentary, of the later history of religion in China, as may suffice to prove, by testimony which man has never refused to accept, — that both the missionaries who died in that land, and the disciples of every class who shared their lot, were in all points the same order of men, animated by the same invincible faith, and abounding in the same divine gifts, as those who taught and suffered in the day when Christianity first commenced its combat with the powers of darkness. The picture which we are going to draw may not exhibit in all its parts the unities of time and space; the various scenes which it will unfold may sometimes seem too closely crowded together, sometimes too widely separated; three kingdoms and twenty-one provinces must find their place in it; but one lesson every form and every object in that picture will teach us, the only one which we need care to learn from it, — that Catholic missionaries are always and every where the same, and that God is marvellous in His saints. (1)

The persecution which devastated the Church in China during the reign of Kien-long was only the continuation of sufferings with which the Christians of that empire were already familiar. During one hundred and fifty years, they had been tried in the fiery furnace, with no other result than to purify

(1) The writer desires to observe, that if in these pages the titles of saint, or apostle, or martyr, are applied to persons to whom the Church has not, by a formal decree, conceded them, such terms are employed in perfect submission to the decree of Urban VIII.

their faith, and augment their numbers. In many of the provinces there had been three generations of martyrs in the same family. We have omitted, for the sake of brevity, these earlier details; the great persecution of 1736 must not, however, be passed in silence.

« All, except a very small number, » says one who witnessed that event, « who were intimidated by the apparatus of torture, displayed heroic constancy amid the most cruel torments. In vain they beat their faces with rods till they were covered with blood, or stretched them on the ground and lacerated them with whips and sticks; they answered constantly « we will live and die Christians. » (1) And one result of this noble fortitude was to attract, even in pagan witnesses, reluctant esteem for the religion which inspired it. The very judges, we are told, filled with involuntary admiration, suggested to their patient victims to apostatise with their lips only, while they preserved their religion in their hearts. « Why should you die, » said the Mandarins; « only obey the command of the emperor by outward compliance, and believe what you like in secret. » But it was not thus the disciples of Parennin and his companions understood the obligations of a Christian. « You need not fear, » said one of then, while the executioners were binding his limbs before the torture commenced, « lest I should move; a Christian is only too happy to suffer for his faith. » Then his trial commenced; but « the Mandarin was weary of tormenting the neophyte, before the latter was of endu-

(1) *Lettres Édifiantes*, tome XX, p. 333.

ring the anguish. » And when it was over, his mother, who had stood without wavering by his side, seeing him all mutilated and covered with blood, fondly embraced him, and exclaimed; « Come, let us hasten to thank God for the favours which He has shown you. »

Another, who was a mass of wounds, and incapable of movement, being adjured by an aged heathen relative, who threatened to die at his feet if he refused to apostatise, answered with a noble pleasantry, which may remind us of the sublime jest of St-Laurence; « I should very much regret your death, but at all events, in my present condition, they can hardly suspect me of having caused it. » (1)

A third, who was by profession a physician, being almost beaten to death, a youth whose godfather he was asked permission to take his place. « Why, my son, » he replied, « would you deprive me of the crown which God has prepared for me? » And these are only a few examples, amongst many thousands, of the spirit which the faith of the martyrs St-Stephen and St-James had kindled in the Christians of China.

During more than ten years this bloody persecution raged. A few gave way, as St-Cyprian tells us they did even in his day, under their torments; but the great majority, — not princes only, but magistrates, soldiers, merchants, boatmen, women, and even children, (2) — rivalled the heroism of the primitive confessors. Every where the same scenes

(1) *Id.*, p. 351.

(2) Rorhbacher. *Histoire de l'Église Catholique*, tome XXVIII, liv. XCI, p. 470.

occurred, and every where with the same result. « On every side, » writes one who bore his part in the persecution of 1746, « are heard the groans of the Christians; every where they are bound in fetters or put to the torture; every where they seek to force them, by every device of cruelty, to renounce Jesus Christ. » But they had been taught by men of the school of St-Paul, and the lesson was engraved on their hearts, that « the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us. » Even the weakest disciples emulated the example of the strong. A girl of nineteen, being dragged before the tribunal, showed such joy in her countenance at the honour which she was about to receive in confessing the Name of Jesus, that the enraged Mandarin exclaimed, « Knowest thou not that I have power to condemn thee to death? » « Here is my head, » replied the new St-Agnes; « you can order it to be cut off, but it will be to me unspeakable joy to lay down my life. » And then the heathen judges, perplexed, as their forefathers were wont to be, by a valour which they admired without comprehending, took counsel together how to deal with such incurable perversity. It was intolerable that even girls and children should laugh at their threats, and despise their torments; caring only, as Festus complained to Agrippa a good many ages before, about « questions of their own superstition, and of one Jesus deceased, whom (they) affirmed to be alive. » (1) The world is ever the same, and resents nothing so much as the faith which dares to survive

(1) *Acts* XXV, 19.

its feeble satire, and the courage which only smiles at its impotent cruelty. And so these Mandarins wisely came to the conclusion, that some new scheme must be adopted. As they could not overcome the disciples, they resolved to lay hold of their teachers. And then the word went forth, that search should everywhere be made for the missionaries, — with this additional precaution, that every magistrate whose vigilance they contrived to elude should be deemed a partner in their guilty rebellion, and share their punishment. It was impossible to stimulate more effectively the zeal of the provincial Mandarins.

Hitherto, the missionaries, though eagerly aspiring to the crown of martyrdom which they had come so far to seek, had consented, for the sake of their flocks, to withdraw themselves from danger. It was the injunction of the Master to His first apostles, and had always been a rule with their successors, not to seize the crown till He offered it to them. « We know, » says a Chinese bishop and confessor of our own day, « that it is not permitted to anticipate the designs of Providence, without a special impulse of Divine grace, nor unless one is mercifully predestined to receive the palm of martyrdom. » (1) In the persecution of 1746, however, the missionaries did not doubt that the time had come to die. They had taught their children every other lesson, and they now prepared to teach them this.

(1) *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, vol. VII, p. 257. English edition.

Father Alcober was the first seized, and the first tortured. When the obscene pagans addressed to him impure interrogatories, he answered with a loud voice, « Questions worthy of a minister of Satan do not deserve any reply. » These questions referred to female converts who had consecrated themselves to a life of chastity. « Who advised you, » they said, on the same occasion, to a young woman before the tribunal, « to embrace virginity? » « Myself, » she replied; and she was immediately consigned to the torturers. (1)

Fathers Royo, Serrano, and Diaz were captured in succession, and horribly mutilated. The first confessed, in answer to the enquiry of the judges, that he had been thirty years in China; the two last were handed over to the executioners without even a question. But it was the Bishop, the venerable Sanz, who was the special object of their search. To save the Christians the vexations and sufferings which they endured in their generous attempts to conceal him, he considered it his duty to give himself up; and having addressed the tribunal with the courage and authority of an apostle, he received at once twenty-five blows in the face, a number afterwards increased, in spite of his venerable age, to ninety five; and finally, after a fruitful apostolate of thirty years, was martyred, on the 26th of May, 1747. His last words to the executioner were, « My friend, I am going to heaven; would that I could take you with me. » His blood was collected, according to custom, by a famous brigand and male-

(1) *Lettres Édifiantes*, tome XXIII, p. 59.

factor, who became not long after a fervent Christian.

The public sentence pronounced against Bishop Sanz, which deserves notice as a testimony of the heathen themselves to the progress of the faith, contained the following notable words. « The number of those whom he has already perverted is so great, that to whatever side we turn in this district, there is nothing else to be seen; and what is more, the very members of the tribunals, and even the soldiers, are devoted to him. » (1) « But what gave a singular and striking character to the apostolic labours of the Bishop of Mauricastro, » says the latest biographer of St-Dominic, « was his success in winning the Chinese not merely to embrace the Christian faith, but to aim at the highest grades of perfection. The number of Christian virgins desirous of consecrating themselves by vow to God was so great, as to recall the days of the primitive Church. »

History has preserved with peculiar care, as if conscious of their special value and significance, whatever fragments of pagan literature referring to the triumphs of Christianity in the first ages have survived to later times. The great Chinese persecution of 1747 has fortunately been recorded by a heathen annalist, and in an official document. In a report to the emperor by the viceroy of one of the most considerable provinces, the sovereign is warmly urged by his deputy to take note, not only of the wide-spread influence of the missionaries, but of the audacity with which their disciples openly manifested their sympathy and love. « As they were conducted in

(1) *Annals*, vol. IX, p. 300.

chains, » says this officer, « thousands of persons came to meet them, and to serve them as an escort of honour. Many showed by their tears the grief which they felt; girls and women knelt before them, and offered them all kinds of refreshments. Every one wished to touch their clothes. » (1) He almost seems to be describing the conduct of those earlier converts, animated by a similar spirit, who also touched the body of St-Paul with « handkerchiefs and aprons, » to which the Almighty, approving this devout use of relics, gave power, as Holy Scripture relates, to heal diseases, and put demons to flight. But the heathen viceroy continues thus. « A young man named Tching-Sieou had the impudence to put himself at the head of this multitude, and to exhort them, saying, amongst other things, ' It is for God that you suffer, let not death itself over come you. ' » It is impossible to desire a more impressive testimony either to the character of the Chinese converts, or to the influence and authority of their apostolic teachers.

The narrative of the eloquent viceroy appears to have stimulated his sovereign to fresh exertions. It was not to be endured that aliens and foreigners should thus provoke his subjects to what is called sometimes, even in our own day, and by men who deem themselves Christians, « a divided allegiance. » But it was the fate of this emperor, as of all the enemies of Christianity, to minister to the glory of the faith which he wished to uproot. The « Masters of the religion of Jesus, » as he styled them, were not

(1) *Lettres Édifiantes*, tome XXIII, p. 72.

men to be conquered by such an adversary as this; and if they invited their brave and generous disciples to suffer for Christ, first showed them, by their own example, how to do so. They owed this debt to their followers, and they freely paid it. « What sort of a God, » said the presiding Mandarin to Father Beuth, when he stood before the tribunal, « is He whom you wish people to adore? » « He who created the heavens and the earth. » « Oh, the wretch; as if the heavens and the earth were created! Give him ten strokes. » These were blows given by a heavy bamboo across the face, the head being turned back over the shoulders. It was a common thing for the sufferer to faint after the first or second. Then writing the Holy Name in Chinese characters, the Mandarin asked the confessor to whom that name referred. It was not now the moment for reserve; and therefore, just as St-Stephen had cried with his latest breath, « I see the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God, » so this new witness announced, even to that pagan crowd, « It is the name of the second Person of the Blessed Trinity, who became Man for our salvation. » « Ten strikes more, » shouted the Mandarin; and the same torment was a third time inflicted, when the bleeding victim once more proclaimed with unfaltering lips the titles of his God and Saviour. Two months after he died of his wounds; his only delight in these last days of his life being to hear the Passion of our Lord read to him by his fellow-prisoners.

It would be no exaggeration to say, that the missionaries were all, from first to last, such as Father Beuth. No menace could daunt, no anguish overcome them. One after another they fell, but as each left

a space in the ranks, another hurried forward to fill it. On the 12th of September 1748 — for each year resembled that which preceded it. — F. F. Tristan de Attermis and Joseph Henriquez were strangled in prison, after the usual tortures. On the 28th of October, four Dominican fathers received their crown together. Every year, almost every month, paid its tribute of blood; and if any still survived in that long and merciless persecution, it was because they consented to delay for a brief space the final triumph, and charitably accepted a hidden ministry amongst their flocks, postponing for their sakes the coveted glory of martyrdom.

Yet their spiritual children, even when deprived of their pastors, were not unable to bear that supreme calamity. They proved, in many a province of China, that the could walk bravely to the stake, though no apostle stood by to encourage them; that they could live during long years by the strictest rule of religion, even when the minister of Christ was taken away from among them. Both these facts are attested by capable witnesses.

We might fill a volume with examples of their constancy. Many who think they would gladly embrace a sharp but speedy death for the sake of Jesus, would perhaps fail under protracted torments. Many who could bear even these, while surrounded by their brethren, and aided by their prayers, would languish and grow cold if deprived for years of all the ordinances of religion. The Chinese Christians have endured both these trials. The celebrated Father Parennin was acquainted with an old Tartar officer, one of a company of Christians living near the great

wall of China, to whom for many years this worthy soldier had acted as a sort of lay chaplain. « I assemble these Christians, » he said, « in my house on festival days; we pray together; I give them notice of the days of abstinence and fasting. All are eager for the happiness of seeing a missionary, in order to hear Mass, and partake of the sacraments. Most of them have seen none for twelve years. (1) »

There is perhaps nothing more striking in the history of Chinese missions, — and we shall meet the same fact in almost every other land, — nothing which illustrates more powerfully the character both of the teachers and their disciples, than the ardour with which the latter clung to their religion, even when separated for long periods from their spiritual guides, and from all the appointed channels of grace and consolation. Nineteen years after the martyrdom of Father Beuth, though the persecution in which he fell had raged almost without intermission, we find a missionary of his class not only expressing his admiration at the « courage with which God inspires these Asiatics, so pusillanimous by nature, » but extolling the innocence and marvellous fidelity of those « who, without even the opportunity of practising the duties of their religion, since they cannot so much as see a missionary, never fall into apostasy, and carefully cause their children to be baptized. (2) « But we must refer for examples to the works devoted exclusively to the history of religion in China; the field which it is proposed to traverse

(1) *Lettres*, tome XX, p. 15.
(2) Tome XXIII, p. 483.

in these volumes is too vast to permit even the attempt to exhaust a single portion of it.

One special feature of the Chinese missions, which even in this rapid sketch we are obliged to notice, is the perpetual recurrence of the same facts in all parts of the empire. Every where the missionaries were the same, the affliction of their converts the same, and the fortitude with which they were endured. Their history in one province exactly resembles their history in every other. Pass for a moment from China Proper, where a strong central administration secured uniformity in the details of the persecution, to Tong-King or Corea, and you will think you are still in the company of the Mandarins who executed the orders of Yong-tching or Kien-long. The proceedings are identical, and their results also.

The mission of Tong-King was founded in 1627 by Father Alexander de Rhodes. In a few months he converted two hundred idolatrous priests, a sister of the king, and seventeen of his near relations. In less than three years he and his companion Father Antony Marqués, had baptized nearly six thousand pagans, including several bonzes of great repute with their countrymen for wisdom and virtue, but who now willingly accepted the humble function of catechists, and « rendered incalculable services to the missionaries in the preaching of the Gospel. » (1) The usual test of their sincerity was quickly applied. By the influence of the king's wives, who trembled lest the monarch himself should embrace a doctrine which condemned polygamy, both the missionaries

(1) Tome XVI, p. 3.

were banished. Would the newly converted bonzes still adhere to a religion which now seemed to have vanished like a dream? Had the faith already taken such deep root in their souls as to support them in such a trial as this? It had done more — it had made them apostles! When the two Fathers entered the kingdom again by stealth in the following year, they found that, in that brief space, their fervent catechists, not content with preserving ther own faith, had prepared four thousand neophytes for the reception of the sacraments. In 1639, only twelve years after de Rhodes had first entered Tong-King, there were already 82,500 Christians! In seventy two villages there were hardly any pagans remaining. In the two years 1645 and 1646, twenty four thousand Tong-kinese were baptized. Finally, before half a century had elapsed, the almost incredible number of *two hundred thousand* converts had been won to Christ. (1)

Thus far the history of religion in Tong-king corresponds with what we have called the « first epoch » in the missions of China Proper. The second was now to commence, and with precisely the same results as in the former empire. The fire which was to « try the work » of the missionaries in Tong-king was already kindled in 1630, but it was not till a few years later that the systematic persecution was organized which has never ceased from that hour, and which was destined to try to the uttermost, but never to exhaust, during more than two centuries,

(1) Henrion, tome II, 2de partie, p. 390. Cf. *Voyages et Missions* du P. A. de Rhodes, p. 88, (1854).

the faith and courage of these afflicted Christians. In vain the missionaries were slain or forcibly deported; their disciples continued faithful even in their absence. When Father Le Royer, and his companion Father Paregaud, secretly entered the kingdom, on the 22d of June 1692, they found that great numbers, by whom they were received with transports of enthusiasm, had not been able to approach the sacraments for a long period of years. And then they commenced their secret and perilous ministry. « I pass whole days, » says the former, in a letter to his brother, M. Le Royer des Arsix, « either concealed in a boat, which I only quit at night to visit the villages by the river-side, or hidden in some retired house. » He always celebrated the holy sacrifice of the Mass before daybreak, and then returned to spend the long hours of the coming day in his place of concealment. Yet in spite of difficulties at least equal to those which were encountered and overcome by the first Apostles; in spite of the terrible lot to which every convert saw himself inevitably doomed, and which would have appalled any but true disciples of the Cross; in spite of sufferings and torments which would probably suffice in a few months to obliterate every trace of the languid or nominal christianity of certain countries of northern Europe; the work of conversion was hardly suspended for a single hour. In 1694, Father Le Royer himself baptized 467 *adults,* though they could only have received his instructions, as Nicodemus did those of our Blessed Lord, under the shelter of night. In 1695, amid the same unceasing dangers, he admitted 435; in 1696, in spite of the horrible

persecution then raging, 218; in 1697, 247; in 1698, 310. And his companions were all engaged in the same work, with exactly the same fruits. « Many of our Fathers. » he writes, « have had a larger number of baptisms and confessions than myself. » (1)

A single example will show what manner of men they were whom they thus gained to God, and how they confessed the faith which the prospect of anguish and death could not deter them from embracing, nor the dread reality persuade them to abandon. In 1721, all the tribunals throughout the land were thronged with Christians brought up for judgment. Luke Thu, an aged disciple, is first commanded to trample on the Cross, perhaps in the hope that his example might influence the younger confessors. Lifting up the sign of salvation from the ground, in the sight of the heathen crowd, he pressed it to his bosom, and exclaimed aloud; « My Lord and my God, Thou who piercest the thoughts of all hearts knowest the secrets of mine : but I desire that they should be known to these also, who think to dismay me by their threats, that they may understand that neither the greatest torments, nor the most cruel death, can ever separate me from Thy love. » The mandarins, in choosing a victim, could hardly have made a more unfortunate selection; and they appear to have been so completely overawed by the majesty of the brave old man, that for that day he was sent back to prison. But the martyrdom which he had merited was only postponed. (2)

(1) *Lettres*, tome XVI, p. 18.
(2) *Ibid.*, p. 41.

We reserve to the *third* period of these missions fuller illustrations of the character of the lay Chinese martyrs, both because we have no space for the innumerable examples which abound in the two earlier epochs, and because the narrative of such triumphs of Christian heroism occurring in our own day, and as it were under our very eyes, will perhaps excite deeper consideration, and serve to illustrate more impressively the prodigious contrast of which we are not yet to speak, but which it is our purpose to trace hereafter in every land. The world hears with apathy of actions, however sublime, from which it is already separated by more than a century, and reserves all its attention for newer events. For this reason we do not linger over the past. The present, we shall see, has still more urgent claims to our notice, and will repay it with still more instructive and abundant evidence.

But we must not close our account of the second period of the Tong-king mission without showing, by at least a few instances, that the missionaries in this province resembled their brethren in every other.

The emperor Chua, a worthy rival of the more potent monarch at Pekin whom he acknowledged as his suzerain, had commanded that search should every where be made for the missionaries. Fathers Francis Buccharelli and John Baptist Messari, both already worn out with disease and toil, for their life had long been a daily martyrdom, were the first victims. In vain some of the higher officers of the court, cognisant of their pure and holy lives, pleaded in their favour, declaring them « irreproachable in

their conduct. » Father Messari sunk to rest in prison, before the knife or the brand could be applied. Buccharelli, accompanied by a willing escort of ten of his own converts, was led to martyrdom. They marched together to death, in a kind of triumphant procession, for in a few moments heaven was to be opened to them. Amongst the crowd who followed was the aged Luke Thu; and when some, compassionating his venerable years, would fain have pushed him back, that the mandarins might overlook him : « Not so, » he answered, still struggling to the front, « these are my brothers. »

On the 12th of January 1737, Fathers Alvarez, Cratz, D'Abreu, and Da Cunha, three of them members of noble houses, all subjects of different European kingdoms, but all united by religion with a closer tie than that of family or nation, — suffered martyrdom in the same place, and at the same hour. So bright with grace and unearthly joy was the face of Da Cunha, as he walked with his brethren to the place of execution, that a mandarin, puzzled by such unseasonable rapture, and utterly mistaking its cause, exclaimed with angry contempt; « This foreign madman thinks they are only taking him to Macao! » Others among the heathen bystanders were heard to observe, with more discernment, « It seems that death is the delight of these foreigners. What kind of a law is this, which teaches men to despise life, and to embrace death with so much joy and satisfaction? » It was the after contemplation of these mysterious scenes, of which their own philosophy supplied no interpretation, which so often led the heathen, according to the universal law of Christian missions, to

embrace the religion of which such scenes attested the divine power.

There was hardly a moment's pause in the struggle of which we have only noticed a few characteristic incidents. In 1750 the same events recurred, and on a larger scale. Once more the prisons were choked with confessors, many of whom died of starvation. One of the bishops in Tong-king was pressed to the earth by a heavy weight, and bore the torture for eighteen days. Father Laureygo, and other missionaries, shared the same fate; and the heathen, who came to gaze upon them, went away filled with astonishment, and sorely perplexed by « the heavenly joy which illumined their faces, » even in the midst of their torments. Finally, on the 28th of August of the same year, all the surviving missionaries were forcibly dragged on board a vessel, — the persecutors having decided that it was no use to kill them, as their death only multiplied converts, — and were accompanied by great numbers of Christians, who, in spite of the barbarity of the pagan soldiers, filled the air with their lamentations, and prostrated themselves to receive the last blessing of the fathers and guides whom they seemed once more to be losing for ever.

At the time of this last outbreak, which closed the second epoch of the Cochin Chinese mission, the Jesuit Fathers had more than *one hundred and twenty thousand* Christians under their charge, the Lazarists *eighty thousand*, the missionaries of Propaganda about *thirty thousand*, and the Dominicans about *twenty thousand;* making a total of more than *two hundred and fifty thousand* converts in

Tongking alone. The persecution continued after their departure, but though some fell away, the great majority were able to bear it. Even Protestant writers with tell us hereafter, though they appear to display more sympathy with the heathen oppressors than with their Christian victims, that a century later there were « about 370,000 Christians » in Cochin China. Their number had increased, therefore, in spite of exile or martyrdom, by more than 100,000. And even this does not reveal the marvellous and almost incredible results obtained in this terrible mission. In 1857, Bishop Retord, the well known Vicar Apostolic of Western Tong-King, who has himself braved death in every form, and whose continued existence is not the least extraordinary fact in this history, announced to Europe that the Annamite Christians then numbered about 530,000, of whom 403,900 had actually partaken of one or other of the Sacraments during the previous year. (1)

A new fact will also claim our attention when we enter upon the third and last epoch of this mission, because it will furnish independent and unexpected testimony to its astonishing triumphs.

We shall then meet *native exiles* from this land of martyrs, in the English or Dutch settlements of the Indian Archiepelago, and find them, by Protestant testimony, as full of faith and zeal as their martyred ancestors, and answering the solicitations of Protestant emissaries, as the latter will inform us, with calm but earnest rebuke; so that

(1) *Annals.*

when the Revd. Mr Abeel, as he relates himself, met some of these Chinese exiles in Batavia, and confessed to them that he and his companions made no converts, they replied, « The fault is in your doctrines; if they were true, there would be no lack of genuine disciples. » (1)

In truth there is nothing in the history of Christianity more admirable than the invincible fidelity of these Asiatic confessors. « I am astonished, » says a missionary who succeeded towards the close of the last century in penetrating into the interior of the country, « that the greater part of the Christians make confessions in which I can hardly find matter for absolution. I suspected at first that they were imperfectly instructed; but the simple manner and devout tone in which they reply to my questions convince me of the innocence and candour of their souls. ' O my father, ' they say to me, ' how should I dare do *that* against my God, who has called me to His holy religion? May my Saviour Jesus-Christ, who died for me, never suffer me me to fall into such a sin. ' » (2)

In China Proper, during the whole period at which we have just glanced, and which we have called the « second epoch » of Chinese missions, the same work was in progress, with a steady unvarying uniformity, in spite of incessant and merciless persecution, which assimilates the Chinese missions to those of the primitive ages. All through the first half of the seventeenth century, more than 500 adult

(1) *Journal of a Residence in China*, by Revd David Abeel, ch. x, p. 234.

(2) *Lettres*, tome XVI, p. 194.

converts were annually made even in Pekin itself; and their constancy is sufficiently indicated by the astonishing fact, attested by Baron Von Haxthausen, that, at this hour, there are more than forty thousand Catholics in that capital, and that still, full of life and power, « their religion extends itself *more and more* in the north of the empire. » (1)

It is impossible to attribute this progress, accomplished in the face of almost unexampled sufferings and dangers, to any other causes than those which have been regarded as the sole adequate explanation of similar triumphs in the early ages; — the omnipotence of divine grace, the persuasive example which the converts afforded to the heathen, and the apostolic character of the missionaries. Father D'Entrecolles relates, in 1715, that a European missionary who visited his neophytes for the first time declared, after living among them, « They are not ordinary Christians, they are models of virtue. » Even the heathen, as we shall see, confessed the same fact. Nor could they be insensible to the mysterious heroism of which they were continually witnesses. D'Entrecolles mentions the example of one of his own recent converts, who saw pieces of his flesh cut off and given to dogs to eat, and yet behaved with such patient fortitude, that even the Mandarins desired the torture to cease. (2)

It is also worthy of observation, and a significant token of the rare union of mental and spiritual

(1) *Études sur la Russie*, tome I, ch. XIV, p. 441.
(2) *Lettres*, tome XIX, p. 95.

endowments in a large number of Chinese missionaries of that epoch, that in the midst of their apostolic labours they still found time to devote to the interests of science. One example deserves particular mention. Humboldt used to deplore, only a few years before his death, that the experiments in terrestrial magnetism to which he gave so great an impulse had not been systematically conducted at an earlier period. Yet we find catholic missionaries, two centuries ago, registering their observations on the magnetic dip.

It is recorded of Colbert, that he one day summoned Father de Fontaney, afterwards a missionary in China, who found him closeted with the celebrated Cassini. The minister addressed the Jesuit in these words : « The sciences do not deserve, reverend Father, that you should take the trouble to cross the seas, and consent to live in another world, far removed from your country and friends; but since the desire of converting the heathen, and of gaining souls to Jesus-Christ, often induces your Fathers to undertake such voyages, I should wish them to profit by the opportunity; and that, in moments when they are not wholly occupied in preaching the Gospel, they should conduct such observations as may be useful to us in perfecting the arts and sciences. » (1) We know how the confidence of the great minister was justified, and Europe still confesses, by the mouth of its most learned men, its obligations to the Society of Jesus.

De Fontaney himself, a man of noble lineage,

(1) Tome XVII, p. 210.

after professing mathematics for eight years in a college at Paris, was one of six Fathers to whom their superior granted permission to labour in China. To him we owe the relation of an anecdote which deserves a place even in this imperfect sketch. A Tartar Colonel, charged with an official embassy to a distant part of the empire, entreated Father de Fontaney, whose disciple he was, to admit him to baptism before he set out on his dangerous expedition. Being found, on examination, to be unable to repeat all the prayers, acts of faith, and other formularies, which the missionaries had resolved, for the sake of precaution, to consider indispensable, his request was refused. « My Father, » said the disappointed soldier, « do not insist upon this condition. I believe all the mysteries of religion, One God in Three Persons, that the Second Person became Man for us and suffered death for our salvation; I believe that they who keep the Law will be saved, and that they who keep it not will be eternally damned. There is nothing to hinder my becoming a Christian. I have only one wife, and no wish ever to have more than one; there are no idols in my house, nor do I adore any. I adore the Lord of Heaven alone, and I wish to love and serve Him all my life. » The missionary was still inexorable, and counselled him to apply again for baptism on his return from his expedition. « But, my Father, if I die on the way, my soul will be lost, for who will baptize me if I should fall sick on the way? You see that I am prepared, that I believe all the articles of the Law, and that I wish to keep it all my life. I have just left the palace, and come hither in all

haste, to beseech you to grant me this favour. I have only two hours left to prepare for my departure, for I must begin my march to night. Father, in the name of God, refuse me not this grace. » To such a prayer only one reply was possible. The missionary yielded, and eight days after the new Christian died on his journey. (1)

It was the same Father de Fontaney, who, when he visited Europe in after years, retained so lively a recollection of kindness received from English friends, that he wrote from London to Père La Chaise, the confessor of Louis XIV, in these words : « I can declare of the English who reside in the Chinese ports that their conduct does them honour. »

A little later we have the evidence of Father Le Comte, who shall be our last witness, and who speaks, like de Fontaney, of works in which he had a personal share, and of events which occurred under his own eyes. « Every thing, » says this well known missionary, « is matter of consolation to us in this glorious employment; the faith of the new converts, the innocence of the old, the aptness of the children, the devotion and modesty of the women. » From him we learn also how far books were employed in the instruction of the Chinese. It was not indeed by such agency that they expected to convert the heathen, but they knew how to employ it in subordination to other means. Of one Chinese treatise written by a Jesuit missionary his companions were accustomed to say, « It has converted as many pagans as there are syllables in the book. » It would have been irrational to

(1) *Ubi supra*, p. 317.

have neglected such useful auxiliaries. « As my visits are not so frequent as I could wish, » writes Le Comte, « I endeavour to supplement them by pious books, with which, by God's blessing, China is very well stored. They have very complete catechisms, containing the whole body of Christian doctrine, and in which the life, miracles, and death of our Blessed Lord, the commandments of God and the Church, are clearly explained. There are also particular expositions of the Gospels, treatises upon moral and christian duties, solid controversies adapted to the capacity of all, practices of piety for various states and conditions of life, prayers and instructions for the right use of the Sacraments, and a course of theology for the learned. » What follows is worthy of notice. « As for the *complete* version of the Bible, there are such weighty reasons why it should not presently be published, that it would seem only an act of rash audacity to do it; and so much the more, because there is already a full exposition, in various books, of what is contained in the Gospels, and even of whatsoever is most instructive in the rest of the Holy Scriptures » (1).

Le Comte relates also, that in his day the Christians, besides assisting every morning at the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, used to « assemble twice a day for public prayers. »

Father François Noel had noticed, at an earlier date, the same habits of piety; that many of the Christians travelled twenty or thirty miles every sunday to hear Mass, and that on fridays they assemb-

(1) *Letter* XII, p. 391.

led in great numbers to practise devotions in honour of the Passion. « Their austerities and penances, » he adds, « would be indiscreet, if we were not careful to moderate their excess. » It was by this discipline of prayer, meditation, and penance, that they prepared for martyrdom, and that so many learned rather to desire than to fear it.

Of the missionaries themselves Le Comte observes, that they had commonly only the bare ground for their couch, and that their diet was so meagre, that « there is no monk in Europe whose rule prescribes such a rigorous abstinence, » since many of them passed whole years together « with only rice, vegetables, and water. » Lastly, of the faithful he gives this account. « The ardent love which these Christians have for Jesus Christ makes them devout in truth, and walk worthy of the profession which they have embraced. They continually repeat the following ejaculation; Jesus, the Master of Heaven, who didst shed Thy blood for us; Jesus, who died to save us! — for as this is the mystery in which we most carefully instruct them, so it is that which they most stedfastly believe. »

Perhaps we have now sufficient knowledge of the facts which belong to the two first epochs of the Chinese mission. The second of these periods was now to be abruptly closed, by an event of which we shall better appreciate the formidable character when we have traced its sorrowful results in many lands.

What the fate of the heathen world might have been if the Society of Jesus had not been overthrown, by a vast conspiracy which united the enemies of every

throne and of almost every creed in Europe, at the moment when it had reached the climax of its glory and usefulness, when its members were doing battle in every stronghold of Satan over the wide face of the earth, and everywhere with success, it would be idle now to speculate. Others, indeed, had been associated with the Jesuits, and not in China only, in that famous apostolate which lasted more than two hundred years, which embraced every region of the world, and added to the Church more souls than the enemy had snatched from her by the great catastrophe of the 16th century. But if the children of St. Francis, St. Dominic, and St. Vincent have every where emulated the piety, zeal, and valour of the sons of St. Ignatius, it is to the latter that men have attributed, in a special manner, the success of a work in which they were engaged at the same hour from Labrador to Patagonia, and from the White Sea to the Islands of the Indian Ocean. « People of the furthest East, » exclaimed Fénélon, with accents of astonishment and admiration, « Your hour is come! To whom do we owe this glory and benediction of our age? *To the Company of Jesus.* » (1) « O famous Company, » said Bossuet, before the noblest audience in Christendom, « who bear not in vain the name of Jesus, and to whom God has given, in these last times, doctors, apostles, and evangelists, that the glory of His Gospel might break forth in all the universe, and even in lands hitherto unknown; cease not to employ in its service, in the spirit of your holy institute, all the resources of genius,

(1) *Sermon pour la Fête de l'Épiphanie*, 1685.

there through that wide desert, but dismay had fallen upon them. The events which were shaking Europe to her foundations were felt even in eastern Asia. The religious societies which alone could supply teachers for the heathen were every where destroyed. The harvest was great, but there were none to gather it in. (1) For many years silence reigned over the pagan world. Yet in spite of a trial without parallel in the history of Christianity, and which fell simultaneously upon every region of the earth; in spite of a calamity, immense and universal, which would have utterly uprooted religion in many a country of Europe; there was not so much as a solitary example throughout the world,—such as had once been known in north Africa, in Phenicia and Bithynia, and the other provinces of Asia Minor, — of the destruction of any church which had been founded by Jesuits, Dominicans, or Franciscans, either in Asia or America. All survived, by a special Providence, this new and unheard of catastrophe. All number at this hour, and notably in China, a greater multitude of Christians than existed before their trial began. The Evil one had bruised the heel of the Church, but she has received power from God to crush his head. And if we marvel in secret why he was permitted to overthrow for a time the Company of Jesus, using as his instruments all the children of pride and blasphemy in every kingdom of Europe, it is the last General of the Society who explains for us the mystery in his encyclical letter to his brethren, of the 27th of December, 1839. « It was permitted by God, » said

(1) De Guignes, tome II, p. 337.

Father Roothaan, « in order to teach us, us above all men, to have a lowly opinion of ourselves. It is faith which instructs us, and experience also, that God and His Church have no more need of our help than of that of other men. » (1) In other words, the Company of Jesus was a great instrument in the hands of God, but the Church was a greater still.

It is time to speak of the third and last epoch of the Chinese missions. Thus far our tale has been of men who had passed to their reward before any of our own generation had come into being. We are now to tell of others, upon whose work we have looked, so to speak, with our own eyes; who have gone out in our own day, and from among ourselves; whose very faces are still familiar in many a household of France, Italy, or Spain; with some of whom we have even had the honour of personal intercourse, and of whose hand we still feel in memory the grateful pressure. Will they prove such as their fathers? Has the nineteenth century power to generate a new race of apostles and martyrs? Is it in such an age as this, rotten with impiety and unbelief, busy only with schemes of material prosperity, which it abandons one after another for some new device, equally futile and soon to be rejected in its turn, that men of the stamp of St. Paul and St. Gregory can still be found? Yes; the world may change, but the Church remains the same; and therefore she continues to produce, and will produce to the end of time, as Bossuet speaks, « doctors, apostles, and

(1) Crétineau Joly, *Histoire des Jésuites*, tome VI, p. 311.

evangelists. » Let us see how far the apostolic missionaries of our own generation resemble those who have gone before, and who are awaiting them in heaven.

In the sketch which we are about to present, and which must be limited to a mere outline of the chief incidents of the present century, we shall no longer be left to the testimony of Catholic witnesses. Heathens and Protestants will now assist us in our enquiry, and throughout the remainder of these volumes they will not again leave us. Let us begin with the heathen.

In 1805, from which date we will resume our history of missions in China, the emperor Kia-King, a savage and unrelenting persecutor, who was killed in 1821 by lightning, published a new edict against the Christians. The testimony of this imperial witness has a peculiar value. He speaks, like the High Priest of the Jews, of men whom he hated but could not subdue; for, as even Mr Gutzlaff observes, though apparently with regret, he « could not extirpate a sect which had so many ramifications, and had taken root in the very heart of the empire. » (1) Mr Gutzlaff and his friends, as we shall see presently, would have willingly assisted Kia-King to extirpate the hated « sect »; which, however, numbers exactly five times as many members as it did when that monarch commenced his energetic operations. Here is the confession of Kia-King in his angry proclamation. « All who become Christians, whether rich or poor, directly they embrace this religion, have such an

(1) *China Opened*, vol. I, ch. XI, p. 365.

affection for one another, *that they seem to be of one bone and one flesh.* » (1)

In the same year, as Sir George Staunton relates, several persons were condemned to punishment or slavery for becoming Christians; and especially one, an Italian missionary, « because he has not only, » says the official decree, « worked on the minds of the simple peasantry and women, but even many of our Tartar subjects » — the most vigorous and influential of the Chinese races — « have been persuaded to believe and conform to his religion; and it appears that no less than thirty-one books upon the European religion have been printed in Chinese characters. » (2)

Once more. In 1826, a petition was presented by the Mandarins to the king of Cochin China, praying him to adopt new measures « to prohibit this perverse religion, » on these grounds. « Since this religion has penetrated into the kingdom, *thousands of persons profess it in all our provinces;* and they who are imbued with this doctrine are animated with a zeal which transports them out of themselves, and makes them run about hither and thither like madmen. The followers of this law multiply every day; they are continually building new churches; their abominations are diffused in every direction, and there is no place which is not infected by them. » (3) The report of these alarmed Mandarins is confirmed at the same date by an English Protestant, who says; «Christianity makes great progress in Tong-King. In

(1) *Annales*, tome I, p. 153.
(2) *Laws of China*, app. p. 533.
(3) *Annales*, tome III, p. 469.

June 1821, a whole district sent deputies to ask to be instructed in the Christian faith. » (1)

But the heathen were not content with recording the numbers of the Christians; their virtues also extorted their unwilling applause. « The Christian religion, » said a Mandarin of the district of Te-Yang, speaking from his tribunal, « is difficult and austere, and obliges men to great sacrifices; » — he was a good judge on this point, since he was at that moment passing sentence on Christians; — « yet if all men could agree to embrace this religion, and to follows its laws and precepts, certainly we should have no need of watch-dogs to guard our houses, or to frighten away robbers; it would not even be necessary to shut our doors during the night as a precaution against evil men, because all men would then be upright and conscientious. » (2) Yet this « whited wall, » in the very act of celebrating their virtues, could command his satellites, like Ananias of old, when St. Paul pleaded his « good conscience before God » to smite them on the mouth.

We have heard, and shall hear again, what the heathen said of the Christians; let us confirm their report by the testimony of witnesses of another order, but at least equally hostile. In the early part of the present century, Timkowski was sent by the Russian government to Pekin, and from him we derive the following information. In the year 1805, he says, in consequence of the discovery of a map of China, executed by the Jesuits, on which the sites

(1) *Asiatic Journal*, vol. XVII, p. 298.

(2) *Nouvelles Lettres Édifiantes*, tome II, p. 488. Grosier, tome IV, ch. IX, p. 456.

of all the Catholic missions were marked, « a fresh persecution was commenced against the Christians. They endeavoured to oblige them to trample upon the Cross, and to abjure their errors; they who refused were threatened with death. At Pekin many thousand persons were discovered, who had embraced the Christian religion, even among the members of the imperial family and Mandarins. » New tortures, Mr Timkowski says, were invented expressly for this occasion. « They made incisions in the soles of their feet, filled the wound with horse hair, finely cut, then closed it with a plaster. It is affirmed that such tortures had never before been practised in China. Several of these miserable beings, chiefly Chinese soldiers, lost their courage during these tortures, but the majority remained faithful to their religion. » (1)

We are approaching our own day, yet we still find the Chinese Christians, by the confession of an enemy, as conspicious for constancy and fortitude as their fathers had been two centuries earlier. The persecution of 1805 died out in Pekin, for a reason which is worthy of notice. « In the sequel, » Timkowski relates, « the president of the criminal tribunal, having learned that in his own house *nearly all his relations and servants were Christians*, became less rigorous in his examinations, and more indulgent towards the Christians. »

Dr Wells Williams, a Protestant agent in China, who displays a far deeper hatred of these generous confessors and martyrs than of their pagan oppressors,

(1) *Travels*, vol. I, ch. IX, p. 365.

and whose deplorable language shall be quoted hereafter, makes the following reluctant admissions. « Many of their converts exhibited the greatest constancy in their profession, suffering persecution, torture, imprisonment, banishment, and death, rather than deny their faith; though every inducement of prevarication and mental reservation was held out to them by the magistrates, in order to avoid the necessity of proceeding to extreme measures. If suffering the loss of all things is an evidence of piety, many of them have proved their title to it in many ways. » (1) No man, as far as we know, has hitherto suggested any better title, nor need these Chinese Catholics aspire to a nobler distiction than that which they share, alone amongst modern Christians, with the disciples of St. Peter and St. Paul.

The opening of the third epoch of Chinese missions reveals, then, the same phenomena with which the earlier periods have made us familiar. A new generation both of teachers and disciples had now commenced their warfare, yet resembling so exactly, in all points, those who had gone before, that in pursuing their history we shall seem to be still conversing with the children of Ricci and Schaal, of Verbiest and Parennin, of Noel and Fontaney. The combatants are new, but their virtues and graces are still the same.

On the 14th of september, 1815 — at which date Protestant emissaries, whose mode of life their associates will presently describe to us, had begun to enter the Chinese sea-ports — Bishop Dufresse, after

(1) *The Middle Kingdom*, Ubi supra.

an apostolate of thirty-nine years, the whole of which had been one long martyrdom, was led to the scaffold, with an escort of thirty-two Chinese confessors. « During the administration of this true apostle of the Christian doctrine, » says Mr Montgomery Martin, in spite of incurable prejudices, « there were frequently fifteen hundred adult baptisms annually. »(1) And now, after a whole life of patient toil and apostolic purity, he was ascending, in the company of thirty-two of his children, the Calvary of martyrs.

Throughout the five years which followed, Chinese priests and laymen, devout and valiant as their French, or Spanish, or Italian models, were continually martyred, and died, as St. Polycarp or St. Cyprian died, calm, constant, and exulting. When Paul Tuy, one of these native priests, was informed by the imperial officers that he was condemned to death, he contented himself with asking, with perfect composure, if it was really true; and when assured that nothing was more certain, he calmly replied, « I should never have ventured to hope for so signal a grace. » (2)

It was in the same year, 1818, that many Christians were exiled to the wastes of Tartary; and when, in 1823, after five years of suffering, pardon was offered to all who would renounce the Christian religion, five accepted the offer which more than two hundred stedfastly refused. In another place, out of a band who had endured the torture of the *cangue* for ten years, an existence more intolerable than that

(1) *China*, etc., vol. II, p. 485.
(2) *Annales*, tome VII, p. 421.

of the most abject tenant of a Russian or a Mahometan prison, only one accepted the same condition, though more than half of the original number had died under the suffering. Even the primitive Christians rarely sustained such a trial as this.

And they were everywhere and always the same. In 1815, a girl of twenty was asked by a heathen judge, « How can you worship a God whom you do not see? » With ready wit she answered, « You yourself honour the emperor almost like a god, yet you do not see him; » a reply which excited the admiration of the pagan, and appears to have saved her life. Old age was as prompt and valiant as youth. Father Charrier tells of one, who had lived more than four-score years, who made this answer before the tribunal. « Before I renounce my God to adore yours, I must see that they are better than mine. At my age one should not do things lightly. In the first place, then, what are your gods? pieces of wood without life. If I cut down a tree in my field, I can, in the course of a single day, make a dozen of them. » (1) He also was released.

Sometimes it was a sorer trial than loss of liberty or dislocation of limb which was proposed to these Asiatic Christians. They were bidden to that direst spectacle which human nature can contemplate, the agony of their own children. This also they bore as firmly as the saints of old. An aged father, himself a confessor, seeing his son gashed with wounds, but rejoicing by faith that his child should be destined to wear the martyr's crown, exclaimed; « Let

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 482.

them scourge you, my son; if they kill you, heaven will presently be yours. » At other times it was children who consoled and exhorted their parents. Surely Pius VII had reason .to say, when such cases were reported to him, in which the superhuman is revealed to all but the wilfully blind, « It is like a passage from the annals of the primitive Church. »

The missionaries, both European and native, led their disciples in the combats for which they had so effectually prepared them. In 1816, on the 13th of February, Father John de Triora, a Franciscan, was strangled. Four native Chinese priests were also martyred in succession. A fifth died in prison of his tortures, as well as twenty laymen, all in the single province of Su-tchuen; in which, nevertheless, there are at this day nearly as many Catholics as there were in 1805 in the whole empire of China. Such are the fruits of martyrdom. In the very midst of these events, which were now of almost daily occurrence, a single Priest, Father Masson, could report, that in one year, in his own mission, he had baptized one thousand and six adults, and given seventy nine thousand communions. (1)

The same work was in progress, at the same hour, in every other province. Thus in Tong-King and Cochin China, in spite, or rather because, of the incessant persecution, in the course of the single year 1820 there were nearly sixteen thousand baptisms. It is true, as we learn from the missionaries, that not all continued stedfast. Thus in 1821, in the

(1) Tome X, p. 261.

province of Su-tchuen, « some of our Christians, » they report, « had the cowardice to apostatise; but the great majority have preferred to endure every kind of evil treatment rather than renounce the faith. » And even the few who failed, through human infirmity, in the hour of trial, commonly implored reconciliation. Father Masson relates that some who had yielded under torture pleaded the example of St.-Peter, when they asked to be restored, « whom our Lord pardoned in spite of his fall. » It is to be noted also, that the pagan Chinese, who generally manifested contempt for the unhappy apostates, did not conceal their respect for their more courageous brethren. Bishop Fontana says that the Viceroy of Su-tchuen, a near kinsman of the emperor, having threatened some recent converts with death, they answered with one accord, « We will willingly suffer death for our religion; » upon which, rising up from his seat, and pointing them out with his finger to the Mandarins, he said, « These are indeed true Christians, they truly profess the religion of the Lord of Heaven. » Then turning to the officious Mandarin who had caused them to be arrested, he said, « Why have you brought me these men, who are guilty of no crime but the desire of dying for their religion? » In spite of these fine words, they were all banished for life to the deserts of Tartary. » (1)

Yet the malignity of these judgments only provoked fresh conversions. In Su-tchuen, thus incessantly scourged and afflicted, there were nearly two thousand adult converts in 1824; in Tong-King, where

(1) P. 250.

the condition of the Christians was still more insupportable, there were in 1825 eighty-three native priests, and more than three hundred ecclesiastical students. Change the names and the dates, and you may believe that you are reading the history of Christianity in Smyrna, Lyons, or Corinth.

It is neither possible nor expedient to trace all the details of this astonishing warfare, in which men seem to display the qualities of angels, and which are rather subjects for meditation than for narrative. Yet we must try, before we pursue the history to our own day, to form a distinct notion of the actual daily condition, if not of the faithful, at least of their teachers and guides. A few facts will serve to illustrate it.

Bishop Fontana, Vicar Apostolic of Su-tchuen, was in such extreme indigence, that he could not even afford to buy vestments for his clergy, who were compelled to celebrate the Divine Mysteries in such robes as were never seen in Europe. His colleague, in exile at Pulo Penang in 1824, was « obliged to sell his pocket handkerchiefs and other little effects, » to obtain food. And so universal was this destitution, that when a new missionary arrived in Cochin China, and presented himself to the Bishop, he would exclaim. « Oh, my Lord, the fowls in France are better lodged than you! » Monseigneur Florens, Bishop of Sozopolis, also sold his humble effects, to buy rice for the poor Chinese; and died at last, venerated even by the heathen for his gentleness and charity, after an apostolate of forty-seven years. His successor found his property to consist of a hair shirt and two disciplines. The wealth of

St. Paul was probably of the same kind, and not more abundant.

The clergy, it need hardly be said, were as poor as their Bishops, — poorer they could not be. Father Masson, writing from Tong-King to his friend the mayor of Lunéville, says; « I possess nothing beyond the circumference of my own body, yet it seems to me that I am as happy as it is possible to be in this world. » Father Gleyo came out of prison, after eight years of close bondage, and then started immediately, as if he had suffered nothing, to evangelise « a part of the country hitherto unknown, » possessing not a farthing, and his whole baggage consisting of « a single shirt, a pair of drawers, and a pair of stockings. » (1) The common nourishment of the missionaries in the interior, with the exception probably of those who were in great cities, seems to have been vegetables, and a sort of cheese made of beans. Multitudes of Christians, especially in Cochin China, driven from their homes, and unable to return without encountering certain death, died of starvation. We shall hear presently, on Protestant authority, of fourteen hundred Cochin Chinese exiles in one place. « They receive the Sacrament of Extreme Unction, » writes one who shared their sufferings, « when they have nothing more left to eat, and then calmly await the arrival of death. I have sometimes given Extreme Unction to five or six at a time. I cannot yet habituate myself to this terrible and heart-rending spectacle. » (2)

(1) *Lettres Édifiantes*, tome XXVI, p. 407.
(2) *Annales*, tome IX, p. 61.

Yet these men, full of tender solicitude for the trials of their disciples, were indifferent only to their own. Bishop Tabert, one of the Vicars Apostolic in Cochin China, to whose predecessor Louis XVI had given some ecclesiastical vestments, writing just as a fresh burst of persecution had died away, says pleasantly; « They were old and worn out, but they were the best I had, and I kept them for the greatest solemnities. Now, I have lost every thing. I have only two poor chasubles, of which one is in strips, and the other patched with linen. What a Bishop! » (1) It was this prelate who, when banished for a time from Cochin China, occupied his forced leisure in composing a « Latin and Annamite Dictionary, » in two 4^to^ volumes, a grammar, and other works, « very superior, » as Mohl reported to the Asiatic Society of France, « to any thing which we before possessed. » (2)

Another Chinese Bishop, writing at the same date « from the depths of a cavern lighted by a wretched lamp, and hunted by police commissioned to arrest him for capital punishment, » says; « I have left the cleft of the rock in which I was stationed; this is the sixth cavern which, within a few months, has served as an asylum to me in my seventy-fifth year. » (3)

In 1834, for lapse of time brought no change in their condition, the Abbé Retord, afterwards Bishop and Confessor, received a secret despatch from one of his colleagues, which announced in these words

(1) Tome VII, p. 535.
(2) *Rapports faits à la Société Asiatique*, tome II, p. 51.
(3) *Annals*, vol. X, p. 9.

his actual position. « I am concealed in a hole, four feet and a half in width and nine in length, inaccessible to any ray of light. The silence is broken only by the hum of musquitoes, and the gambols of rats, who show no respect for my presence. For thirty-four hours my retreat was surrounded by seventy soldiers, and for eighteen I remained without motion. I confess that at the beginning such a life appeared to me tedious. » The Abbé Marette, who was hunted in the same manner, and subsequently martyred, says; « I was not without apprehension, you may suppose, crouched between two walls. I recommended myself to all the saints, and in particular to my companion so lately martyred, whose clothes, covered with his blood, I had with me in my hiding place. » (1)

Perhaps these facts afford a sufficiently clear idea of the daily life of the missionaries. That men of our own generation should cheerfully support such an existence during twenty, thirty, or forty years; that they should accept a life of crucifixion, and even embrace it by a deliberate election; that they should divorce themselves for ever, and without repining, from dearly loved kinsmen and friends, — like Father Dollières, who had received no tidings from home during twenty years, and in one letter heard of the death of all his relations, — this is a mystery to which religion alone supplies the clue. « Behold, » said the chief of the Apostles to his Master, « we have left all things, and have followed Thee : what therefore shall we have? » And the answer to him, and

(1) Vol. I, p. 120.

to all such as him, was this; « Amen I say to you, that you, who have followed Me, in the regeneration, when the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of His majesty, you also shall sit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel. And every one that hath left house or brethren ... for My name's sake, shall receive an hundred-fold, and shall possess life everlasting. » (1)

The promise has been fulfilled, in all ages and in all lands, and no where more conspicuously than in the land of China, and in the nineteenth century. When Father Masson, one of this apostolic company, of whom we have heard in these pages, was asked by a priest in Europe, who had thoughts of entering the Chinese mission, what special difficulties and spiritual trials he might expect to encounter, the missionary gave this sublime and memorable answer. « As respects the peculiar temptations and spiritual troubles to which one is most exposed in this manner of life, it is happily impossible for me to give you any information, since I have always found myself in a state of joy, and have observed the same thing in all my colleagues. » « You wish to know, » writes another, « what troubles I endure. I have none. Or rather, I experience the sweetest consolations in seeing the great number of conversions which, through God's grace, are daily wrought under my eyes. Last year we baptized more than twelve hundred adults. Praise be to Jesus! » If these men, and a thousand like them, were doing the same work as St-Peter or St-Paul, from the same motive, and in

(1) Matt. XIX, 27-29.

the same way, why should it appear strange if they received the same consolations?

The primitive missionaries were aided, as we learn from many places of Holy Scripture, by miraculous events. They abound equally in the annals of modern missions, but we reserve to a later period of our history the fuller consideration of this subject. « If our churches, » says the Bishop of Isauropolis, in 1830, « are only covered with thatch, they receive nevertheless the visits of heavenly spirits. » He then alludes to choirs of angels being heard, when no one could be seen, and adds, « but I cannot venture to speak of these things, because the temper of men's minds in France would not endure them. » (1)

Frequent miracles, as any one familiar with the *Acts of the Apostles* would anticipate, marked the whole course of the Catholic apostolate in China. Many are recorded, or referred to, but always as events which were too probable to excite astonishment, or to need comment, in the *Lettres Edifiantes*, and the *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*. One of the missionaries, who was himself condemned to death, but delivered, records, amongst other miracles, the raising a dead man to life. (2) The well known apparition, on various occasions, of fiery crosses in the heavens, which were seen all over China by thousands of pagans, and of which drawings were published, seems to defy cavil. But we shall find hereafter a more convenient occasion for the examination of this subject.

(1) *Annales*, tome V, p. 391.
(2) *Divers Voyages de la Chine*, ch. XXII, p. 149.

And now that we have perhaps a sufficiently distinct idea of the men who labour at this moment in China, and of their manner of life, let us terminate this sketch by a brief account of some of the principal incidents of their apostolic warfare within the years of our own passage through the world, from 1830 to 1860. It is not of the dead only that we are now to speak, but of some also who are still living, and from whose works we shall be able to judge whether the age of apostles is past.

In 1831, the young Deschavanes, worn out by fatigue and privations at the age of twenty eight, died at his post, refusing to seek health in Europe; and in the same year, that we may mark its course by a single fact, in spite of incessant persecution, and as it were under the very eye of the emperor, *nine hundred and seventy-eight* baptisms were administered in the city of Pekin.

In the renewed persecution of 1832, which raged throughout the northern and central provinces, the fortitude of the Christians was so universal that all, with the exception of a solitary individual, declared amidst their tortures, that « they would die rather than renounce their religion. » The emperor himself said, in one of those singular edicts of which we have seen other examples, that « the Christians were not guilty of any crime, but that which rendered them without excuse in his eyes was, that every one of them, even to a blind old woman, despised his authority, in order to obey a European. » (1)

In 1833, throughout the whole of China Proper,

(1) *Annales*, tome VI, p. 487.

except only some of the maritime districts in which the Christians were so numerous that the Mandarins were unwilling to disturb them, the same events recurred; but it was perhaps in Cochin China that the martyrs displayed most conspicuously, during this year of suffering and trial, those superhuman qualities which all Christians have agreed to admire in the annals of the primitive confessors. We have only space for a few characteristic examples. It was in 1833 that the abbé François Isidore Gagelin, one of those generous priests of whom modern France has produced so many, terminated his apostolic course. For the narrative of his martyrdom we are indebted to his friend the abbé Delamotte, himself afterwards a martyr, who was almost an eye-witness of every detail which he recounts.

The abbé Gagelin had been long in prison, uncertain what lot should befall him, together with his colleagues, Father Jaccard, and Father Odorico. They were confined in separate dungeons, but from the 23rd of August to the 11th of October, the two latter, by the connivance of their guards, had been allowed to visit him twice a week. On the 12th of that month, Father Jaccard, who had received information of what was coming, wrote a letter to his brother in bonds which contained the following words; « I think I ought to tell you, happy brother, that you are condemned to death. » The next morning the abbé Gagelin replied, « I recommend myself to your prayers, and to those of Father Odorico, as well as of M. Delamotte; » but still hesitating to believe that he was destined to so great an honour, he modestly suggested, that perhaps he would only be

sentenced to exile. The letters continued to pass to and fro between these « prisoners of Jesus Christ, » letters so full of simple dignity and apostolic courage, that even a Protestant writer remarks of this correspondence, « It was worthy of a man who had lived well, and was about to die well. » (1) On the evening of the 13th, Father Jaccard, who had now obtained certain intelligence, wrote to him, « Your sentence is pronounced irrevocably, and so, behold you a martyr! »

All doubt about the future being at length definitively removed, Father Gagelin replied as follows. « Sir, and dearest colleague; the tidings which you announce to me, that I am irrevocably sentenced to death, fill my inmost heart with joy. *Lætatus sum in his quæ dicta sunt mihi; in domum Domini ibimus.* The grace of martyrdom, of which I am most unworthy, has been from my earliest childhood the object of my most ardent desire. *I have specially solicited it every time I elevated the Precious Blood in the holy sacrifice of the Mass.* In a little while, then, I am going to appear before my Judge; to render Him an account of my offences, of the good which I have omitted to do, and even of that which I have done. » After some simple and touching reflections, and a few words of farewell addressed to his family and friends in France, he continues : « The sight of my good Jesus crucified consoles me in any bitterness which may accompany my death; my whole ambition is to depart quickly fron this body of sin, to be united to Jesus-Christ in a blessed eter-

(1) *Chinese Repository*, vol. VIII, p. 609.

nity. *Cupio dissolvi et esse cum Christo.* I have only one more consolation to desire, that of seeing you and Father Odorico for the last time. »

This happiness was to be denied him, though the three missionaries were before long to be re-united in heaven. On the 16th, Father Jaccard, who now adresses him as « venerated colleague, » and « dear martyr of Jesus Christ, » after telling him that all hope of their obtaining permission to see him is gone, continues thus. « Father Odorico and myself cease not to speak of your happiness. He is radiant with joy, and would fain share your lot. I confess that I should be almost sorry if the king released you, now that you are so near the moment which will give you the palm of martyrdom, and admission into heaven. Pardon me, dear brother, all the scandals which I have caused you, and all the uneasiness which I may at any time have occasioned you. »

On the 17th, at seven in the morning, the happy victim was led out of prison by a band of soldiers, two mandarins riding in the rear of the procession. The pagan crowd, filled with admiration at his patient composure, exclaimed, « Why should an innocent and worthy man like this be put to death? Who ever saw any one go to death with so little emotion? » Shortly after, the martyr had won his crown. (1)

Fathers Jaccard and Odorico, his friends and fellow-labourers, were both sentenced to exile, with secret orders to the mandarins to starve them to death. The injunction, apparently through a motive

(1) *Vie de M. l'Abbé Gagelin, Missionnaire apostolique et Martyr*, par l'abbé Jacquenet, (Paris, 1850.) He was declared « Venerable » in 1840 by Gregory XVI, ch. XII, p. 458.

of benevolence, was disobeyed. The latter died in prison in 1834, when on the point of being strangled. Four years later, on the 21st of September 1838, after protracted sufferings, Father Jaccard received in his turn the much coveted crown of martyrdom. Ten bamboos were broken by the executioners over his body; but « though each stroke made the blood flow, this intrepid soldier of Jesus Christ did not utter a sigh, nor allow a single cry to escape his lips. » The Bishop of Annecy, who undertook to relate to his mother the circumstances of his glorious death, says, that when Madame Jaccard heard that the martyrdom was accomplished, « she uttered a cry of joy, and burst into a flood of tears, exclaiming, ' Thanks to the Almighty! I am delivered from the dread which I felt, in spite of myself, lest he should be overcome by his sufferings '. » (1) Thomas Tien, a Chinese youth of eighteen, died with him, and displayed, not only the fortitude, but even the gaiety of spirit, which the Chinese martyrs shared with the victims of the primitive ages. « Upon arriving near the inn where it was usual for criminals on their way to execution to take some refreshment, the young Thomas, turning to Father Jaccard, said in jest, ' Will you take any refreshment, father?' ' No, my child, ' replied M. Jaccard, smiling. ' Nor I either ', added Thomas : ' to heaven, then, my father! ' »

But we must go back for a moment to 1833, and to the martyrdom of Father Gagelin. He did not die alone. While living he had not laboured in vain, and the spiritual children whom he had begotten to God

(1) *Annals*, vol. I, p. 397.

proved worthy of their apostle and guide. Many accompanied him in that last dread journey, whose death was perhaps as admirable as his own, and affords a new proof that the Church knows how to gain in the nineteenth century exactly such converts from the heathen as all her apostles had won in the eighteen which went before. Some were beaten till the flesh fell in pieces from them, yet these poor Chinese neophytes were as valiant in the combat, as unmoved in their torments, as the venerable pastors who had made known to them the Saviour for whom they died. They even jested, with a holy mirth, under the shadow of the scaffold. Paul Doï-Buong, being roughly dragged to execution, and embarassed by his chains, said smilingly, « Let us go a little slower; I know the way, and there is no danger of our losing it. » Michael Kenou, a friend of Paul, was thus addressed on the following day by the king himself. « You have seen Buong's head cut off; well, have you learned to fear a little? If you are ready to renounce your religion, speak. » « Certainly, » replied the confessor, with the sober dignity which a true martyr always displays, « we all fear your power much; but as to abandoning my religion, that I can never do. If you release me, well; if you order my head to be cut off, I shall suffer it cheerfully. » (1) Peter Lieoû, another of these Christian heroes, who was in his seventy-sixth year, died with such holy calm, that even the executioners, confounded by such mysterious joy, exclaimed to one another, « Truly this Christian religion is a good religion! »

(1) *Annales*, tome VII, p. 529.

And they seen to have been all alike. Young and old, men and women, all had received through the ministry of their apostolic teachers such a measure of faith, such an ardent longing for the vision of Jesus Christ, that cowardice, lukewarmness, and self-love found no place among them. In truth they had already accepted martyrdom in purpose when they consented to embrace Christianity, for they knew, like the Christians of the first ages, that it was no lip-service which the profession required from *them*, and that the baptism of blood was likely to follow close upon that of water. And so when the hour of trial arrived, it did not take them by surprise. Thaddeus, a son of the martyr Michael Kenou, being himself in bonds, and ignorant of the fate of his parents, wrote thus to them from his prison. « I salute my father and mother. I beg them to remember the example of Jesus Christ, who suffered for us; to call to mind also that the Holy Virgin, His blessed Mother, had her soul pierced with a sword of grief; yet it was necessary that she should conform to the will of God the Father. I beg my father and mother to remember and meditate upon these examples; lest they should give way to sorrow, should be impatient and afflicted on my account, and thus render themselves guilty in the sight of God, not accepting His holy will. It grieves me that you should be conscious of my sufferings, but I beseech you to render thanks to God who gives me strength to support all these torments. » (1) We have seen that his parents needed not his pious counsels; and if we would comprehend

(1) *Ibid.*

the prodigious work of grace which had raised thousands of semi-barbarians to these sublime degrees of virtue, we have only to reflect for a moment upon the condition of their unconverted fellow-countrymen.

The events just referred to occurred in Cochin China. Bishop Taberd, one of the seven Vicars Apostolic of the kingdom of Annam, in his account of the terrible persecution of which they were the fruits, speaking only of his own Vicariate, says; « Eighty thousand Christians are flying hither and thither in the deepest distress, and often destitute of every thing, so that a native priest writing to me observes, ' Our Christians will die of hunger before they have time to die for their religion.' Nearly *four hundred churches*, the creation of their labours and alms, are utterly destroyed. » And then this prelate adds, « Forests, caves, and rugged mountains, these are at present the asylum of our missionaries; prisons or exile that of our neophytes. » Yet they have survived this trial, like every other, and come out of it, as we shall see presently, with increased numbers. We must be blind indeed not to discern the divinity of that religion which such a tempest could not even weaken, — more blind and gross than the pagans themselves, multitudes of whom were converted by the contemplation of virtues which should not leave *us* unmoved, and of triumphs in which even *they* could discern the power of God.

Yet the emperor Minh-Mènh, the Nero of Cochin China, was no feeble adversary. There is someting so purely hellish in the malice of this monster, such a personal and inextinguishable hatred of Christian-

ity in all his acts, that it is easy to see who presided at his councils. It was no mere jealousy of foreign influence, no petty partiality for national customs, which dictated his atrocious edicts. Like Yong-Tching, he *knew* what Christians were, and deliberately abhorred then with the fury of a demon. The son of Gia-Long, his own predecessor, had been, as an intelligent Protestant traveller remarks, « a decided convert to the Christian religion, and accompanied the Bishop of Adran to France in 1787. » (1) A French navigator relates, that the mausoleum « which Gia-Long built in honour of the Bishop of Adran still forms the most curious monument in the city of Hue-Fou. » (2) Minh-Mênh was not, therefore, wholly ignorant of the truths of Christianity, nor of the character which they imparted to their professors. Many of his own Mandarins had warned him of the bad effects of his suicidal policy, but in vain. Civil war devastated his kingdom, and his greatest nobles assured him that he had no braver soldiers, no more faithful subjects, than the Christians. He only replied by a fresh outburst of demoniacal rage. A legion of devils seem to have entered into this man. But even with such allies he utterly failed, from first to last, in his warfare against Chistianity, and only furnished occasion for fresh victories to those whom he strove in vain to exterminate, but who conquered him by the very agony which he thought was a triumph for himself.

In 1833, the year which saw the death of Father

(1) Crawfurd's, *Embassy to Siam and Cochin China*, ch. XVIII, p. 509.

(2) *Voyage de la Favorite*, tome II, p. 318.

Gagelin, another martyrdom, more appalling perhaps in its details than any which ever occurred even in the blood-stained land of China, attested both the unappeasable malice of Minh-Mènh, and the supernatural fortitude of his victims. Four years earlier, the Abbé Marchand, a French priest of the diocese of Besançon, quitted his country for the mission of Lower Cochin China. When the persecution of 1833 broke out, he refused to quit his post, for he served One who had said, « The good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep. » For two years he succeeded in escaping the search of the bloodhounds who were on his track. In September 1835, during the civil war which then raged, he was captured, and the heart of Minh-Mènh was filled with exultation. Conducted forthwith to the capital, and surrounded by all the instruments of torture in order to intimidate his soul, his examination commenced.

« Are you Phû-Koai-Uhon? » This was the Chinese name of the Vicar Apostolic. « No, I am not. » « Where, then, is he? » « I know not. » « Are you acquainted with him? » « I know him, but it is long since I have seen him. » « How many years have you been in this Kingdom? » « Five years. » That night the flesh of both his thighs was burned off with red-hot irons, and then he was enclosed in a cage, two and a half feet in height, three in length, and two in width; and so he passed the night. On the morrow he was again brought forth, and then was enacted a scene of horror at the bare recital of which nature shudders, but which our fathers were accustomed to look upon without fear in the amphitheatres of Smyrna and Antioch. At a signal from the

presiding Mandarin, five men held him down, while five others plunged at the same moment as many bars of hot iron, each eighteen inches long, into different parts of his body. The strong heart of the martyr did not fail, though the anguish was more than mortal man could bear; yet even the sharp and bitter cry of agony was obedient to faith, and as the smoke rose up, and the tender flesh seethed under the burning rods, the baffled heathen only heard him exclaim, « O, my Father! » And then they mocked him, when the irons had grown cold in his body, and cried out, « Father of the Religion of Jesus! » And next they asked him questions of his religion. « Why do Christians tear out the eyes of the dying? » they said, alluding to the anointing of the eyes by Extreme Unction. The victim, gathering up all his strength, answered, « They do not so; no such thing is ever done. » Upon this five fresh irons were applied to him. « Why do married people, » they asked, when these in their turn had become cold, « stand before the priest round the altar? » He could still speak, so he said, « They come, in the assembly of Christians, to ask a blessing on their union. » A third time his agony recommences. « What enchanted bread do you give to people who have confessed, to make them cling so firmly to their religion? » « It is not bread, » replied his dying lips, « it is the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, Incarnate, and become the nourishment of the soul. » Thus, to the last, he witnessed for God. But it was not over yet, though fifteen ghastly furrows had been burned in his body. They offered him food, which he refused. And now two other executioners

advance, each armed with a keen and heavy blade; a rolling of drums is heard, and when it ceases, both his breasts are lying on the ground. He makes no movement. Again the drums are heard, and again two great pieces of flesh are cut from him. He turns his eyes to heaven, then nature yields, and he bows his head, before they have finished their work. Strike on, ministers of hell, that poor body feels no more. The soul, which you could not touch, has fled, and the martyr is with his God.

Such are the apostles whom the Church sends to do her work, even in this nineteenth century. « Through great tribulation, » they pass to their immense reward. Like all their predecessors, during eighteen hundred years, it was in the Church that they found the gifts which made them what they were, and without which they would neither have obtained courage to enter upon that terrible warfare, nor strength to persevere, nor grace to triumph in it. Man is too weak, as even the Pagans have understood, to contend alone in such a strife as this. If that « burning fiery furnace, » into which the martyrs of old were cast, was tempered as « by a wind bringing dew, » so that « the fire touched them not at all, nor troubled them, nor did them any harm; » it was because there was One among them, whom even the King of Babylon recognised, when he cried out in astonishment and fear, « Did we not cast three men bound into the midst of the fire? Behold, I see four men loose, and walking in the midst of the fire, and there is no hurt in them, and the form of the fourth is like the Son of God. » (1)

(1) *Daniel*, III, 92.

More than twenty years have elapsed since the event just narrated, yet the battle of which it was only a characteristic incident has not ceased to rage during the interval. Each year in succession has witnessed a repetition of similar combats. It is impossible to record them all. « The time would fail to tell, » as the holy Apostle speaks, of all the great actions accomplished in this Eastern land, by men animated with his own spirit, and ever ready, as he was, to die for the souls of their brethen, « not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a better resurrection. » In every part of China the same scenes occurred; but there is one region, to which we have not hitherto referred, in which they present such a character of extraordinary sublimity as is not surpassed, if indeed it be equalled, even in the annals of that divine religion which has inspired so many noble deeds.

At the southern extremity of the vast province of Mantchooria, jutting out between the Yellow Sea and the Sea of Japan, lies the great peninsula of Corea. Here reigns a sovereign who is nominally dependent, like the kings of Annam, upon the emperor of China. If we interrupt for a moment our narrative to notice the progress of Christianity in Corea, the digression will hardly require an apology. « There is nothing, » says an eloquent French writer, « in the records of missions, so like a martyrology as the annals of the Church of Corea. Her whole history is written in blood. Every date is marked by a persecution, every detail describes a scene of torture, a dungeon, or an execution. Every person discovered to be a Christian is invariably a martyr. Her first neophyte was a

martyr. Her first Chinese apostle a martyr. Her first native priest a martyr. Her first Bishop a martyr. Her first European missionaries were all martyrs. » Let us see what has been the result, up to the present hour, of the conflict in Corea between the apostles of the Church and the powers of darkness.

It is perhaps worthy of remark that England has had the honour to give a martyr to Corea. In 1788, Father Thomas King, of the Society of Jesus, died in that land. But it is only of efforts made in our own day that we propose to speak, and our narrative commences with the year 1817. It was at that date that the prelate, himself destined to martyrdom, who governed the overtasked apostles of this land of martyrs, appealed to Catholic Europe for fresh labourers in the Corean mission, and these were the attractions which he offered to their charity. « Any ecclesiastic who may receive this vocation may be assured that he will have the happiness to suffer much for the glory of God, that he will make many conversions, and that in a few years he will obtain the crown of martyrdom. » The formidable invitation was accepted, and here is a recent example of the spirit in which the true missionary of Christ responds to such a call. « It is for the purpose of penetrating into a kingdom from whence his predecessors have only been delivered by the scaffold, and with the intention of sharing the misery and proscription of a few faithful and unknown strangers, that M. de Maistre has devoted ten years of his life, spent sixty thousand francs in roaming around the impenetrable frontier, in running about in all sorts of disguises, through all kinds of perils, from the ports of China to the deserts

of Leao-tong, seeking for Corean guides, whom he looked for in vain, asking alternately the Chinese barques and the French ships to land him upon the coast where his tomb was already marked out! Death was so evidently to be the result of the enterprise, that the most courageous seamen refused to be his accomplices by lending him their aid. It required the zeal of an apostle to comprehend this heroism, and to second its endeavours. Father Hélot, being a priest, understood what the Cross required of him; and as a member of a Society whose tradition it is that they have never been baffled by any difficulties or perils, he felt himself at the post where his company wished him to be, when rivalling in zeal and courage a foreign apostle. In the general panic, the Jesuit becomes the pilot of a battered bark, safely conducts his intrepid passenger to an unknown land, and having deposited him on the shore, and looked after him for a while with prayers and earnest good wishes, returns to his neophytes with the consoling satisfaction of having exposed his life for a mission that is not his own. » (1)

The « intrepid passenger, » piloted by a Jesuit as courageous as himself, fought his way at last into the interior, and commenced the secret and perilous labours which his companions will presently describe to us. A French journal has lately announced his final destiny. « The *Bon Sens* of Annecy relates the death in Corea of a missioner belonging to the illustrious family of de Maistre. Father Joseph Ambrose died of fatigue and want on the 20th of December, 1857, after

(1) *Annals*, vol. XIV, p. 190.

spending ten years in that persecuted mission. » (1)

In the single year 1839, Bishop Imbert, whom the Holy See has since proposed to the veneration of the faithful, accompanied by Fathers Chastan and Maubant, was martyred, with an escort of two hundred and fifty of their disciples, of whom seventy were beheaded, and one hundred and eighty strangled.

In 1847, Bishop Ferreol, who had then supreme charge of this afflicted church, described in a letter which reached Europe « the generosity and the triumphs of the Corean martyrs. » He gave an account also of the « apostolic ministry, so crucifying to nature, » in which he and his clergy were engaged. The mode of living, he says, « is fatal to Europeans; » and we can easily believe him, when he adds, that rice and water formed their only food. It was only by the aid of the most complete disguise that they could ever venture out, as death would immediately have followed detection; and the Christians, even those « belonging to the highest nobility, » could only receive the sacraments at midnight, when the pagan members of their family, who would have betrayed them without mercy, were asleep. « This mysterious secrecy, » the Bishop adds, « is here a necessity, for every Christian seized is put to death, unless he rescues himself by apostasy. » (2) Yet they not only cheerfully accepted this « crucifying » existence, but in the course of that very year, in spite of the appalling lot which conversion entailed, so powerfully did divine grace co-operate with these apostolic mission-

(1) *Weekly Register*, August 20, 1859.
(2) *Annals*, vol. X, p. 268.

aries, that they baptized 768 adults, and admitted 467 fresh catechumens, — being an addition of 1235 to the number of those who were willing to purchase, even at so great a price, the hopes and the privileges of Catholics.

Let us pass over ten years, for we are compelled to be brief, and in 1856 we have another account of the Corean mission from one who had just succeeded in entering it. He writes to a friend in France, a priest like himself, and here are some of his words. « The Europeans have hitherto made Shanghai the term of their wanderings eastward, but the Catholic missionary, who has heard the words of his Divine Master, *Ite, docete omnes gentes*, (Go, teach all nations,) cannot circumscribe himself within limits where treaties, ships, and cannons, guarantee freedom and security. His duty calls him amidst dangers and sufferings ... For my part, I have had but a small share in them; unworthy to suffer for my God, my portion has been less than that of others. » He had started from Shanghai in company with three men of his own class. The first was Bishop Berneux, « the veteran of the missions, » who had already spent twelve years in Mantchooria, had been scourged and imprisoned in the dungeons of Tong-King, and was looking forward to martyrdom as the crown of his labours, when he was rescued by the appearance of a French frigate. He had just been appointed by the Holy See head of the Corean mission, a post for which the brave and experienced confessor had been duly trained by previous sufferings. The second fellow-passenger in this voyage was a Jesuit from the interior of China; the third a missionary who had already

toiled in India; the fourth the writer of the letter which we quote. They are in sight of Corea, after a painful voyage, and the spectacle suggests to him this reflection. « Corea! Corea! that name which sounds auspiciously in every heart anxious for the salvation of souls; that name which has only been heard in Europe as the symbol of persecution and martyrdom, that name revived and fortified us. The past was forgotten; all our desires, all our thoughts, were for that land. » In the night of Good Friday, 1856, they landed in a creek; and on the following day, escorted by Father Daveluy, who had been sent by M. de Maistre to meet them, they entered the capital, muffled in the national garb of mourners, which effectually conceals the features. The streets were crowded, but their disguise was impenetrable; though the writer adds, that he could not help saying to himself, as the people jostled him on every side, « If you knew who I am, you would do worse than elbow me. »

In the following year, on the 8th of September, 1858, Father Féron, another Corean missionary, writes to his family from the « Valley of the Pines, » a secret position in which he was studying the language of the country. It is difficult, he says, « for us to send any thing from Corea, even a simple letter. In order to secure the despatch of this, it will be necessary to send it by way of Mandchooria, secreted in the boot of a courier; this courier will travel expressly for us on foot upwards of six hundred miles, in the depth of winter, and under pretence of purchasing merchandise at a fair, which is held annually on the frontiers, he will deliver our letters

to the couriers sent by Bishop Verolles, » - The well - known Confessor, and Vicar Apostolic of Mantchooria — « and will bring back to us the correspondence of the Mission, as well as the other objects, packed in the form of bales of Chinese merchandise. »

If these precautions were necessary in the despatch of a letter, we may judge of those which the security of the writers required. Yet Father Féron, writing to his mother and sisters, and therefore without reserve, could jest at his terrible position with charming pleasantry, and thus describe some of its details. « I live in one of the finest houses in the village, that of the Catechist, an opulent man; it is considered to be worth a pound sterling. Do not laugh, there are some of the value of eight pence. My room has a sheet of paper for a door... the rain falls through my roof as fast as it falls outside, and two large kettles barely suffice to receive the water that filters through the grass-covered roof of my presbytery. » And then, tenderly mindful, no doubt, of that loved group at home by whom his letter would be eagerly read, he enumerates his wordly possessions. « The prophet Elisha, at the house of the Shunamite, had for furniture a bed, a table, a chair, and a candlestick — in all, four articles. There was no superfluity here. For my part, if I were to search well, I could also find four pieces of furniture. Let us see : first, a wooden candlestick; second, a trunk; third, a pipe; fourth, a pair or shoes; total, four. Bed, none; chairs, none; table, none. Such being my furniture, am I richer or poorer than the Prophet? This is a problem which is perhaps not easy

to solve; for admitting that his room was more comfortable than mine, we must also consider that none of the furniture belonged to him; whilst in my case, granting that the candlestick belongs to the chapel, and that the trunk was lent to me by Monseigneur Berneux, it cannot be denied that at least the pipe and the shoes are mine. The latter I only put on to say Mass in. As to the pipe, it serves to keep one in countenance when travelling in a country where every one smokes, though I have not succeeded in discovering any charm in it, and have even been intoxicated by it after two experiments, which has quite taken away from me the desire of making a third. » Is there not something attractive in this simple gaiety of spirit, worthy of an apostle who had bidden an eternal farewell to all the ordinary joys of life, and who could thus jest at the poverty within his humble dwelling, and even at the death which was lurking at the door?

The Abbé Féron speaks with admiration of the Corean Christians. « When once they have learned the truth, no sacrifice is too great for them. A nobleman, or the son of a Mandarin, will become a labourer, if necessary. Indeed there are few who are restrained by sacrifices, when the salvation of their soul is at stake. Would that all Europeans were like them in this respect! » Many of the converts, it is said, quit their homes immediately after baptism, to find a refuge in the mountains, where they labour, or starve, as Providence may appoint. It must be admitted that such converts are at least in earnest.

Let us conclude with some extracts from a letter, of the same recent date, adressed by the venerable

Bishop of this persecuted flock to the Baron Henri de la Bouillerie, who had been one of his pupils, a quarter of a century before, in a French college, of which the Bishop had been Rector. When the Holy Father, he says, commanded him to accept the Vicariate of Corea, « my health having long been delicate, and being advanced in years, I was afraid that I should not be able to learn a new language, nor to adopt the customs and usages of a new people. I must confess too that twelve years spent in Mantchooria had singularly attached me to the Christians of that country. But Corea! — that land of martyrs *par excellence*, the very name of which makes all the fibres of the Missioner's heart vibrate — how could I refuse to enter it, when the door was open to receive me? » And then he tells his former pupil what was the manner of his life, in the capital, and almost under the shadow of the royal palace, and how he contrived to escape detection. « I have in my house a noble Christian family, the head of which, in public, passes for the proprietor of my habitation. I have my quarters in the rear, where no stranger can enter. My palace consists of a single room, three yards long and two wide. I spend four months of every year in this room, which I never leave except to administer to my neophytes. None of the pagans suspect my presence in my real character, and the Christians themselves do not know where I reside. I communicate with them through the medium of four catechists, to whom alone my door is open. If there is a sick call, they come, fetch, and accompany me. With the mourning dress, already mentioned, I can go into the town without danger..... The Abbé

Féron, whom, as a new comer, I have placed in a position where he has a better chance of finding provisions than elsewhere, wrote me some time since that, compared with Corean Missioners, the Trappists are complete Sybarites; but, like a courageous Missioner, he willingly accepts this ultra-Trappist regimen, and will soon become habituated to it. But do not grieve for the privations we have to endure; they are so abundantly compensated, that we look on them as nothing. » And then he describes the astonishing faith and fervour of the neophytes, who seem to rival those who dwelt of old in the catacombs, and to receive graces proportioned to the almost desperate position which they so generously embrace.

The Bishop appears sanguine in his expectations of the final conversion of Corea. « In a short time, » he says, « it would be wholly Christian, if we had liberty. In spite of the severity of persecution, the faith is daily gaining ground. It is making its way even into the houses of the ministers and princes; in all their palaces we have persons who pray, secret disciples who have learned the catechism. Still too weak to make up their minds to the sacrifices which the profession of Christianity would require of them, they are awaiting more favorable times. As for the government, it still manifests great hostility towards our religion, and thirsts for the blood of the Christians. » The court of Corea has, however, great dread of the power of France; and the mere presence of the frigate *Virginie* off the coast suspended the persecution for some months. « They have still some uneasiness of conscience, » says the Bishop, « respecting the blood of three French Missioners martyr-

ed in 1839... It is a conviction generally entertained, that Corea will become a French country. »

During eight months of the year, the Bishop visits the country missions, where there is more liberty of action. In September the Christians assemble in the mountains for a spiritual retreat, to which they look forward with lively joy, but which is a period of exhausting labour to the Bishop and his companions. In the capital, however, the most rigorous precautions are still observed. Even women of the highest rank only visit the Bishop at midnight, encountering the greatest perils in order to hear Mass and receive the Sacraments, and with the certainty of death if discovered. If by chance their pagan relatives or domestics should be awake on their return, they know their fate. Yet in spite of these terrible difficulties, as formidable as any which religion has ever encountered, « the blood of the martyrs, » in the words of Bishop Berneux, « is beginning to bring forth fruits... It is an incontestable fact that there is a more sensible tendency than ever to conform to our holy religion. Our persecutors themselves assert it; and the mandarins, like the apostate emperor of old, admitted a few months since in one of their assemblies that Christ would triumph. What would they say if they saw the son of a minister of the king, himself a mandarin, sending us presents, and asking as a favour permission to visit us; if they knew that the wife of one of the king's uncles has urged his brothers to become Catholics; and that in these very palaces where the vow has been so often taken to exterminate even the last vestige of the Christian name, the true God has His worshippers, who are only waiting

for more peaceful times to present themselves for baptism? » Finally, the Vicar Apostolic relates, that whereas two years earlier there was not a single Bishop in Corea, and only two missionaries, while the coasts were so carefully guarded that ingress was almost impossible; there are now two bishops and five priests, who minister to 15,206 Christians, every one of whom is a hero by the very act of his profession, ready to endure for the love of Christ all that malice can inflict, and whose number is annually increased by several hundreds. Such are the fruits of apostolic labours which only the faith of Catholics could inspire or sustain, which even pagans contemplate with awe and admiration, and which God alone knows how to recompense.

We shall hear again of Corea, and of the men who labour in it at this moment, from Protestant travellers in China; meanwhile, let it be permitted, in terminating this brief notice, to give a single example of the courage and virtue, not of its foreign apostles, but of its native confessors. We know in spite of what discouragements they dare to profess the faith, let us see how they maintain their profession when the hour of trial arrives.

In 1852, Father Thomas Tshoez, a native Corean priest, and a member of one of the noblest and wealthiest families in the land, wrote to the Director of the Foreign Missions in Paris. Amongst other examples of recent martyrdoms, this Corean missionary, — who had spent *three years* on the coast in vain attempts to enter his native land after completing his studies at Macao, but had at length succeeded, — notices two, in which he had a special interest,

because they were those of his own father and mother. The former, in spite of his rank, had accepted the lowly office of catechist in 1839, and subsequently resided in the town of Seoul, from which a fresh burst of persecution banished him, his family, and kinsfolk, amounting to about forty persons. They were followed by the emissaries of the king, and tracked to their retreat, where they were devoutly preparing for the martyrdom which they knew was at hand. « We have long been expecting you, » said the head of this noble family to the satellites when they knocked at his door; « we are quite ready, but the day has not yet dawned; rest your weary limbs, and accept some refreshment, after which we will set out in due order. » (1) The emissaries of the king, filled with astonishment at so much charity and fortitude, exclaimed with enthusiasm, « This man and all who belong to him are truly Christians! There is no fear of their attempting to escape; let us take a little rest. » At length they commenced the journey which was to be their last in this world. The little children, foot-sore and fainting with heat, — it was in the summer season, — expressed their sufferings in plaintive cries, but even this trial did not overcome their parents and relations. « Courage, my brethen, » said the elder Tshoez; « Behold the angel of the Lord, with a rod in his hand, measuring your steps. Behold our Lord Jesus Christ going before us with His cross to Calvary. »

Arrived at the capital, the poor children « clinging with their little arms to the necks of their mothers, »

(1) *Annals*, vol, XV, p. 7.

they were « greeted with sighs of pity, or assailed by curses and imprecations. » « O wretched and wicked men, » exclaimed some of the pagans, « how can you fly in the face of death with these tender children? » It seemed to them monstrous and unnatural, for they had never heard of the Holy Innocents, and knew not what glory awaits those who die for the name of Jesus.

Francis Tshoez, the father of the priest who relates their martyrdom, was tortured on the following day, and then invited by the presiding judge to apostatise. « Would you persuade me to perjure myself? » was his reply : « If it is a crime to break faith with man, how much greater must be that of infidelity to God. » One hundred and ten strokes of the bamboo tore his flesh to pieces, but he looked stedfastly through that brief hour of suffering to the sure felicity beyond. The rest were subjected in turn to the same tortures. « Some of them, » says Father Thomas Tshoez, « half dead, and totally unconscious of what they were saying, muttered a formula of apostasy dictated by the judges. »

On the following day, Francis was again brought into court, and commanded to read a few pages out of a book of Catholic devotions which they presented to him, « for the purpose of examining his doctrine. » « With a smile of pleasure, » says his son, « he opened the book, and began to read with so much unction and feeling, that the whole assembly arose, from a spontaneous movement of admiration, and extolled our holy religion, which inspires a joy so pure and unfeigned amid the horrors of the most frightful torments. » For forty days they continued

to torment him with fresh miseries, « which he bore with such indescribable patience, that the executioners surnamed him *the stone*, on account of his apparent insensibility. » Finally, on the 12th of september, says his son, « my father consummated his glorious martyrdom. »

But there were still other victims, whose fate is related by the same witness, — the only priest, perhaps, who ever lived to narrate the martyrdom of his whole house and kindred, and then devoted the remains of his own existence to convert their murderers. His mother's turn came next. « Although descended from one of the most noble of the Corean families, my poor mother submitted without shrinking to every species of privation... Ever the same, that is, constantly firm and magnanimous, she witnessed without emotion the day of combat. Gentle and patient as a lamb in her suffering, she repulsed with noble self-possession every thing that was capable of wounding the dignity of a Christian soul. » Already, during the journey, she had « carried in her arms her youngest boy, and encouraged the others by holding up to them the example of Jesus flying to Egypt with Mary and Joseph. » And now a sorer trial came upon this Christian mother, so lately widowed. « Exposed to the rack, » says her son, « she saw her flesh torn, and her joints dislocated, without uttering the slightest complaint. But all this torture was nothing in comparison with the agony which she felt in witnessing the sufferings of her children. Their sighs pierced her maternal heart with a sword of grief. The milk no longed flowed to her wounded breasts, and her infant child sought in vain

to satisfy the claims of nature at the dried up source from which it had once derived sustenance. Hence she who had set at defiance the executioners and their tortures, who had endured every species of personal suffering, was overcome by her tenderness. Blinded by the ardour of maternal love, she thought she might be permitted to pronounce an outward formula of apostasy, whilst in her heart she protested against the words. » But the weakness of a moment, under the most cruel trial which can befall human nature, was to be speedily repaired. « God, from His throne in heaven, » writes her son, « witnessing the struggles of this poor mother, stretched out His hand to His servant. » Retracting with bitter tears her unwilling fault, she once more proclaimed before the judges the faith which had supported her in all her agony, and on the 30th of January, 1840, the last of her house and race, with the exception of one who was to recount her fall and her triumph, she received the crown of martyrdom which so many torments had earned.

Such are the Christians of Corea, and such the fruits of an apostolate which has already won more than fifteen thousand converts to the faith which demands from its professors such sacrifices, and does not demand them in vain. Once more let the reader ask himself, whether this is the work of God, or of man.

And now we must return, in order that we may bring it to an end, to the history of missions in China Proper and Tong-King. Our last date was 1833. Of the twenty-seven years which have subsequently elapsed, each deserves its own record, for each has

contributed its due proportion of apostolic labours and triumphs. If the history upon which we have entered referred to China alone, such details would not be too minute; but we have to visit in turn every country of the world, and can only glance at the missionary annals of each. For this reason we have no alternative but to suppress a multitude of facts and incidents which would otherwise deserve our attention, and must confine ourselves to a rapid summary of such as illustrate most effectively the contrast which it is our purpose to trace.

In 1837, on the 20th of September, Father Cornay was led to martyrdom. He died as one who had led an apostolic life might be expected to die, but it is of his disciples, rather than of himself, that we are tempted to speak. Three of them, Paul Mi, Peter Duong, and Peter Truat, — the first one of a family of martyrs, — were present when Father Cornay was seized, and were destined, after long sufferings, to share his fate. From their dungeon they addressed a letter in French to the members of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. « Strangers, and unworthy of your attention, » they said, « we should not have ventured to send a letter to Europe, lest we should seem to be influenced by vanity, or anxious to be spoken of afar; but the counsels of Father Marette, and the example of the primitive Christians, who communicated to each other their afflictions and their consolations, have encouraged and will excuse us... Besides, we have the confidence that the memorial of three men about to die for the religion which *you* have made known to them, will excite still more your zeal in favour of our persecuted brethren and

idolatrous kinsfolk. » And then they relate in simple words what had already befallen them. They had been racked and scourged, but without showing the least sign of wavering. « How insane you must be, » said one of the judges to Paul Mi, who had just received one hundred and thirty blows; « you have not seen the hell of the other world, and while waiting to do so, you expose yourself to the hell of this. » The answer of the martyr would probably only seem an additional absurdity to the shrewd pagan. « I willingly submit, » he said, « to the hell of this world, in order to avoid the hell which endures for ever. » For many months they lingered in prison, suffering almost every torment which man can inflict or endure, and this was the temper in which these Chinese Christians accepted a lot from which a violent death was to be the final issue. « Since you wish it, » said Paul Mi, in a letter to Father Marette, « I will speak of my sufferings, though, however great these may be, my sins are still greater. There is no sort of misery which I have not endured... The only grace which I unceasingly beg from God, is a constant conformity to His holy will. Ask it also for me, that so, in spite of my unworthiness, I may glorify the Lord by my death. Alas! how have I, a poor sinner, deserved to be elected to martyrdom? There is surely in this thought enough to cover me with confusion. »

Father Marette, who could not without excessive rashness have ventured near them in person, and who has already told us how he kept with him in his own hiding place the blood-stained clothes of a martyred colleague, contrived to convey to them the Blessed

Sacrament, by the hands of a native priest, who affected to enter the prison only as a visitor. « I did not conceal from myself, » he says, « the danger of a Communion made under the eyes of our enemies, but the necessity of sustaining with the Bread of the strong these poor weak soldiers, destined to the most terrible of combats, made me indifferent to every other consideration. » And so they communicated secretly in the very presence of their guards.

Paul Mi was the eldest of the victims, but his companions were filled with the same spirit. « Your son does not think himself worthy, » wrote Peter Duong to the same missionary, « to offer you his thanks and his prayers, but confiding in the merits of Jesus Christ he beseeches God to take his father under His special protection... The happiness which awaits us, the thought of heaven which we already approach, make such an impression on my soul that there is no room for any other desire. Sinner as I am, I confide in the merits of my Saviour, and in the protection of the Holy Virgin, and of the blessed Martyrs who await me in the bosom of God. I salute you for the last time. »

Peter Truat, the youngest of this company of confessors, in whom some sign of weakness might have been feared, wrote thus. « Your little child offers you a thousand salutations. I am overjoyed at having been predestined by God for martyrdom... I quit life without regret. The only pain which I feel is to be separated from my father. » The love of these martyrs for their apostles is manifested by a thousand tender expressions. « Formerly so united, » he continues, « why are we now torn from each

other? Who could have supposed that the father and the brothers would be thus scattered here and there by the tempest?... Your son will not fail to follow the salutary advice which you have given him how to conduct himself in his last moments. » He then alludes to the noble death of Father Cornay, and adds, « Pray, while your son is in the combat, that God at your entreaty may grant him strength in the midst of his trials, and a death like that of his master. » (1) On the 18th of December 1838, « *the prisoners of Jesus*, » as the pagan crowd called them on their way to the stake, received their crown. That night, their bodies, which had been secretly withdrawn by the aid of an official, were buried with due honour. « What joy, » says Father Marette, « for me to see again, after their triumph, these dear children, whose souls had just taken flight to the bosom of God! With what religious satisfaction I kissed the impression which the instrument of death had left in their mangled flesh! » Two native priests, who offered the Holy sacrifice in presence of their remains, two catechists, five religious women, and about thirty of the faithful, assisted at that midnight scene. And then father Marette repaired once more to his hiding place, to prepare others for the same combat, or to brave it himself when his own hour should come. It was not far distant.

The year 1838 was a terrible one for the Church in Cochin China. On the 12th of June, the aged Bishop Ignatius Delgado died in prison of his sufferings; after having held during forty years the office

(1) *Annals*, vol. II, p. 202.

of Vicar Apostolic in Tong-King. Thirteen days later, his venerable coadjutor, Bishop Dominic Henarez, was led to martyrdom, in spite of his gray heirs, after an apostolate of forty-nine years. Ten days after his death, Bishop Havard, stretched on a mat in a wretched cabin, after all his noble labours, died of want and fatigue. Fathers Candahl and Vialle, who had long been hiding in caves and dens, died the same death. Father Simonin perished in his flight to the mountains. It is worthy of remark that Father Candahl twice received a gratuitous passage on board an English ship, though he was known to be a Catholic missionary. He and Father Vialle succeeded in entering Tong-King in the spring of 1835, passing through perils of every kind, sometimes shipwrecked, often hiding in caves and mountains, exhausted by hunger and thirst, their feet wounded and bleeding, and only venturing at night to the sea-shore, to moisten their parched lips with its brine. And this life they led, to their last hour, with no other motive than to declare to aliens and strangers the name of that Saviour, for Whose sake they cheerfully embraced such a career.

But the year 1838 had not yet reached its close, and was to be consecrated by another of those sublime combats in which man is raised, by the succour of divine grace, to the dignity of the angels. On the 24th of November, Bishop Borie, Vicar Apostolic of Western Tong-King, was decapitated, after seven fruitless attempts on the part of the executioner, whom the martyr calmly encouraged in his task, while even the Mandarins hid their faces in horror. When Bishop Borie refused, at his trial, to answer

certain questions addressed to him, the presiding judge angrily exclaimed, « When your flesh is torn to pieces with iron rods, will you then be able to keep silence? » « I shall then see what I can do, » he replied; « I dare not flatter myself before the trial. » In his prison he continued to preach Jesus Christ with extraordinary fervour. « The joy which beamed in his face, notwithstanding the heavy *cangue* which weighed down his shoulders, excited the admiration of the pagans. ' This Master,' they were heard to say, ' has truly a heart for teaching religion; if hereafter he can continue to instruct us, we also will embrace his doctrine. ' » (1)

The Church in Cochin China had lost four Bishops in a single year. Bishop Cuenot, upon whom the mantle of the martyred prelates had now fallen, had reason to say, in a letter addressed to Europe, « Our ranks are thinning fast, and if this deplorable crisis lasts, our poor flock will soon be orphans. » « The year 1838, » said the Pro-Vicar Apostolic at the same date, « has been a year of sorrow and misery for Tong-King and Upper Cochin China. The sword of persecution has committed terrible ravages, and heaven has been peopled with martyrs. The two Dominican Bishops of Eastern Tong-King were beheaded in July. Three Spanish fathers of the same order were also beheaded, and seven native priests shed their blood for Jesus Christ. »

Their disciples, we have seen, were worthy of such teachers. It was only by the fervent exhortations of apostles endowed with such gifts, that timid

(1) Vol. I, p. 551.

Asiatics, hitherto ignorant, sordid, and godless, could be raised to such sudden perfection. By the preaching of the Gospel, and the participation of the Sacraments, they had found strength to imitate their guides. « Their constancy, » observes Father Marette, who had so often encouraged and witnessed it, and whose own martyrdom was now at hand, « is the more worthy of admiration, since they are neither Europeans, sustained by the natural vigour of their constitutional character, nor apostles, impatient to shed their blood for the Gospel, but cowardly Asiatics, whom grace alone has converted into heroes. » « Fool, » said a Mandarin to one of the lay martyrs of this year, who had received more than five hundred lashes in forty days, « why are you so obstinately bent upon dying? » A smile was his only answer, and when the moment of his martyrdom, in which he was accompained by his family and children, arrived, and the executioner secretly offered for a certain sum to cut off his head at one stroke, — « Cut it into a hundred pieces, if you like, » said the martyr: « so that you cut it off, that will satisfy me. »

It was the contemplation of such scenes which, as in the primitive days, continually added to the number of the faithful. « We know, » said some of the Mandarins, filled with involuntary admiration of the superhuman virtues displayed by their victims, « that you do not merit death, and we would willingly save you, but the orders of the king do not permit us to do so. Pardon us, therefore, if we are compelled to take away your lives, and do not impute this crime to us. » Rarely has sin and unbelief offered a more notable homage to faith and virtue.

But we must hasten to an end. Every year in succession witnessed the same events, and was illustrated by the same triumphs. We cannot recount them all. In 1840, according to the narrative of Father Joseph Clauzetto, Pro-Vicar General of the province of Hu-Quang, Father Perboyre, a French Lazarist, was martyred, after long and horrible tortures. « We were tracked as beasts of the chase, » says Father Clauzetto, who with difficulty escaped ; « they pursued us, poor missionaries, as robbers, though we have no other feeling towards these gentiles than that of charity, no other wish than to open to them the gates of heaven. » Some of the children of their school were cruelly scourged for refusing to disclose their retreat, and one of their catechists nobly submitted to have his arm cut off rather than reveal it. In every direction the missionaries were flying. Father Perboyre was caught in a valley, worn out with fatigue and famine. « Thirty piastres to any one who will show me a missionary, » cried an officer, when he came in sight of the fugitive group, and it was a Christian who yielded to the temptation, and to save his own life pointed to Father Perboyre. The missionary was conducted in triumph from tribunal to tribunal, and cruelly tortured at each. New forms of suffering were invented in order to shake his constancy, and force him to disclose the residence of Bishop Rameaux, Vicar Apostolic of the province of Kiang-Si, whom they especially desired to seize. When their efforts were baffled by his inflexible fortitude, they offered to release him immediately if he would apostatise. A Chinese priest, who penetrated in disguise to his dungeon, reported that « his whole

body is one sore, and his emaciation shocking to behold; he has hardly strength to utter a few words; he can neither sit nor stand; many of his bones are bare, his flesh hangs in pieces, and his clothes are soaked in blood. » When they presented a crucifix to him, desiring him to trample on it, he could not restrain his tears, and only replied by pressing the image of his Saviour to his lips and heart. On the 11th of September 1840, after one of the most painful and protracted martyrdoms ever endured by man, he entered into his rest.

In the same year, Father Torrette, also a French Lazarist, finished his career; his last words being those of the Apostle, *Mihi mori lucrum*, ' To me to die is gain. ' This year saw also the death of Father Luke Loan, a native priest, whose virtues were so much venerated even by the pagans, that it was only by offering a large bribe that the Mandarins could procure an executioner. « My father, I bow before you, » said this man, when he came to perform his task; « if it depended on me alone, you should live in peace; but the king's will must be done, and I cannot resist it. Do not, I beg, impute your death to me, and when you are in heaven pray for me. » (1)

It would be easy to multiply these examples, which alone furnish an adequate explanation of the astonishing success of the missionaries. Even the pagans understood, that such men must be supported by the immense power of God. Even they confessed the truth, which is hidden from some nominal Christians, that where His gifts are, there He is

(1) Vol. VIII, p. 201.

Himself. « Truly this Christian religion, » they said, « is a good religion. » They judged it by its fruits. It was, as a rule, only the higher officers of the state who willingly persecuted the Christians, and even they were often subdued by their supernatural patience and fortitude. In the persecution which followed the capture of Father Perboyre, and which involved a vast number of Christians, Father Clauzetto notices particularly the case of two women, a young girl and a widow, who seem to have produced a profound impression upon their judges, and even upon the viceroy himself, who was present at their trial. « They boldly confessed Jesus Christ, often repeating to their judges, ' Cut off our heads if you will, but do not hope to make us abandon our faith. ' The Mandarins were amazed; the firmness of these holy women gave such authority to their words, that the persecutors, after hearing their defence of Christianity, acknowledged that they had nothing to reply. On beholding such virtue, they dispensed with the torture. Some pagans even offered them presents, as a testimony of esteem and admiration. » And this feeling, he says, became general. Even the guards of the Christian prisoners were often so touched by their simple dignity and unconquerable virtue, that « instead of ill-treating, they exhort, they supplicate. ' Why do you persist in suffering '? they asked; ' Is there so much harm in saying a word, or making a sign, in order to please the Mandarin? You might still be Christians at home. ' » Sometimes the officials filled up tickets declaring their apostasy, and when the Christia entered the court, handed them to the judge, w

would say, « You have at last renounced Christianity? » And when they eagerly replied, « No, we are still Christians; » « Go, go, » he would say; « I understand; you have apostatised; go home. »

Father Francis Tchiou, a Chinese Lazarist, relates in 1840 the martyrdom of his own brother, and then describes the amazing constancy of a Christian girl, Anne Kao, a victim in the same persecution. After trying her by various torments, they caused her to be brought before the tribunal when she was faint with hunger, and offering her food, desired her to eat in taken of apostasy. Her reply deserves our attention, not only for its own sake, but because it won the sympathy and admiration of the wife and daughter of the presiding Mandarin, who openly manifested « their pity for this Christian virgin. » « *If in your eyes,* » said the famished girl, » *it is apostasy to eat, I declare to you that I will die of hunger, rather than take the smallest portion of food; but if you see in it only an indifferent or ordinary action, I will eat.* » « You are an obstinate woman, » replied the Mandarin; « eat as you please. » (1)

If we still linger over the year 1840, it is because there is no more famous date in the annals of Chinese missions. It was in this year that Bishop Retord, who so long ruled the Church in Western Tong-King, announced to Europe the singular change of policy which was then inaugurated in Cochin China, but only to be quickly abandoned. Weary of their continual failures, and convinced by experience that the

(1) Vol. II, p. 175.

slaughter of the Christians only increased their numbers, — they have more than trebled in Cochin China during this century, and amounted before the persecution now raging (1860) to more than five hundred thousand, — the pagan authorities resolved for the first time to appeal, not to the passions, but to the reason of their countrymen. Edicts were published all over the country, from which the Bishop quotes such passages as the following. « In order to instruct and undeceive the Christians, » all governors of provinces, subordinate mandarins, chiefs of districts, and mayors of villages, were charged to address to them these arguments. « This Jesus, the author of your religion, is a man of a distant country, and of a race different from ours. .... What the missionaries teach on the subject of their Cross, to which a little child is attached, is, in great part, incomprehensible. The best plan is not to believe any thing about it.

You will say, that you observe the religion of Jesus in order to go to heaven after your death. Do you see what has happened to the priests Marchand and Cornay, to the chiefs Trum-Hien and Trum-Hai (Fathers Fernandez and Henares)? Have they not perished miserably? Has not their punishment been for all a subject of compassion and terror? Yet these four missionaries observed their law more perfectly than the people; but this has not prevented their unhappy death. And these are the men who used to relate to the crowd such fine things about their future destiny! But their death has unveiled the knavery of their words! To speak sincerely, how can a person ascend to heaven when he no longer lives? »

The royal edict then proceeds to notice the case of

two apostates, and continues thus. « *They* have trampled on the cross, they are free, and await in peace the end of the days which heaven may grant them. Acknowledge, then, on which side are the joys of paradise, on which the sufferings of hell. If you are insensible to these considerations, if you continue to assemble in order to pray in secret, you show the blindest stupidity, and the most criminal obstinacy. »

Finally, the decree ingeniously observes, « such are the great thoughts which we must develop for the Christians, in order to enlighten and convert them. »

If these arguments were less effective than their royal author anticipated, they appear at least to have been faithfully employed by his officers. They were met, however, on the part of the Christians by other arguments, which so confounded the Mandarins, that it was not long before they abandoned logic in despair, and took once more to the knife and the scourge. Perhaps a single example, related by Bishop Retord in 1840, will suffice to illustrate the effect of their public discussions with the Christians.

Father Paul Khoan, an Annamite priest, represented on this occasion his Christian brethren, being brought up from prison for that purpose, while a Mandarin enjoying the confidence of the king undertook to justify the superior wisdom of his master's philosophy. It is true that the Christian advocate hardly appeared under favorable circumstances. He had been more than a year in a Chinese dungeon, and was at that moment under sentence of death. Four of his colleagues, Chinese priests, had recently been

martyred. Fathers Thomas Du and Dominic Xuyen had been horribly tortured. The legs of the latter « were burned with plates of red-hot iron, his flesh pierced with sharp points, and his body lacerated with scourging. They drove sharpened irons under his nails . . . . Amidst such horrible temptations, the two venerable priests did not manifest a moment's weakness. » At length they were slain, and within a few days Fathers Peter Thi and Andrew Lung, also Chinese priests, came to the same end. It was just after these events that Father Khoan was brought from his prison, to debate with judges who had always this final argument of the knife in reserve, if he should be so imprudent as to overcome them in discussion. In spite of these discouragments, Father Khoan accepted the debate, of which the following is the substance, though we are obliged for the sake of brevity to suppress many details. (1)

MANDARIN. « The king loves you, because you are a native of the country. If he has sent you to prison, it was only to give you the opportunity of repentance. He authorises me to discharge you, if you trample on the Cross. »

PRIEST. « Your kindness affects me, and it gives me pain to refuse you. I have only to beg that you will give me due notice of the day of my death, that I may arrange my affairs before quitting this world. »

MANDARIN. « Yes, I will inform you of the time. But you tremble with cold out there in the court. Drink a cup of tea, and sit by me on this mat. I feel

(1) Vol. II, p. 182.

pity for you! What pleasure you would give me by trampling on the Cross! »

PRIEST. « I have reflected well upon what you say to me, but the more I reflect, the more I feel the reasonableness of my religion, and my obligation to observe it strictly until I die. If I abandon the Gospel, I shall avoid death, it is true; and I can secretly follow my religion at home, as Gia-Long, the father of the present king, wished me to do; but there would be no integrity in acting thus. I should be unfaithful to the Lord of Heaven, whom I have adored up to the present time, and I should scandalise those to whom I have preached, if they saw me wanting in constancy and fidelity. »

MANDARIN TO HIS OFFICERS. « You hear what he says. How can we hope to conquer the firmness of such a man? »

TO FATHER KHOAN. « I was already persuaded that your resolution was immovable. For this reason I examined two of your disciples first, lest, encouraged by your example, they should imitate you; but my plan has failed, and they have shown the same constancy as yourself. Tell me, have you no wish to live? »

PRIEST. « Mandarin, if you spare my life, I will return you thanks, for who does not love life?

.... But the Christian, in dying for the sake of his Creator, will obtain a more valuable recompense in heaven than the transient life of this world. »

MANDARIN. « That is very well; but how do you know there is a Paradise? »

PRIEST. « The sovereign of an earthly kingdom, has he not distinctions of honour, and privileged places

for his faithful servants? Shall the supreme Master of heaven and earth have none with which to reward those who have been faithful to him unto death? »

MANDARIN. « But how do you know that there exists a Master of heaven? »

PRIEST. « Great Mandarin, the universe is an open book which teaches it clearly. Consider all the wonders of nature, and you will easily comprehend that there is a Being who made them, a Lord who governs them..... »

MANDARIN. « What you say is true; I agree to it. » (To the officers.) « He speaks deliberately and with calmness. In truth, what he says is very fine. He is not an ordinary man. He is persuaded that there is a Paradise. » (To Father Khoan.) « I must frankly confess that in hearing you speak I am moved to compassion, and I wish I could save you. But the law of the kingdom is very severe. If you do not trample on the Cross you will be sure to die.... But enough; you have convinced me; you are not an ordinary man? »

And then they sent their report to the king, and shortly after Father Khoan was martyred.

It was in the face of such difficulties, and of a persecution which never relaxed, that Christianity had to fight its way in Cochin China. Yet these terrible obstacles only ensured its triumph. The pagans could not refuse to admire the pure lives of their Christian fellow countrymen, nor the mysterious heroism of their death. And when they witnessed the martyrdom of priests of their own race, they openly avowed the respect which such scenes inspired, like the Mandarin who exclaimed at the death of

the Venerable Peter On, « Yes, Peter On is truly a holy person! »

But we must bring the history to an end. Every martyrdom, whether of bishop, priest, or layman, only produced fresh candidates for the same honour. In 1841, Bishop Retord secretly consecrated Father Hermosilla, « in a cabin thatched with straw, in a village situated on the edge of a dense forest, so that, in case of imminent danger, we might take refuge in it. » And then the new Bishop started for another part of the country, to consecrate a third, so that the Church might be prepared for all emergencies; « for in these regions, » says Bishop Retord, « we must hasten to anoint other foreheads with the holy chrism, lest our own head should presently fall under the axe of the executioner. » In 1842, the same courageous prelate, for he still survived, could say; « Since my return to Tong-King, I have already consecrated two Bishops and eleven priests. We have at present but one priest less than before the persecution; for in proportion as heads fall, others rise up to blunt the sword of the executioner. »

And so this warfare continued. In the year 1844, in the single Vicariate of *Western* Tong-king, 1237 adults were received into the Church; in 1845, 1328; and in 1846, 1308; being an addition of nearly four thousand persons in a single province, who deliberately embraced the lot of the Christians, with all its terrible penalties. Between 1820 and 1858, the total number of converts in Tong-king alone was *one hundred and forty thousand*, « an increase so much the more wonderful, as it has been

accomplished in thirty-eight years of atrocious and almost uninterrupted persecution. In the year 1854 alone, there were five thousand three hundred and seventy adult converts. » Finally, the state of the Annamite Church in 1858 is described in the following almost incredible summary. There were at that date, in spite of incessant martyrdoms, *fourteen* Bishops, (in addition to more than thirty in China Proper;) *sixty* European missionaries; *two hundred and forty* native priests; *nine hundred* clerical students; *six hundred and fifty* catechists; *sixteen hundred* native nuns; and *five hundred and thirty thousand* Christians. « Our Annamite brethren, » says the annalist of this marvellous mission, « may with justice repeat at the present day what Tertullian said to the persecutors of old : ' We increase in proportion as you cut us down. ' » (1)

Yet the pagans, unconscious intruments of the Evil one, have done their best to destroy them. In 1850, the village of Ly-tou-pa, near the city of Kiu-hien, contained two hundred and forty inhabitants, who were all Christians. They were so remarkable for their virtues, that even the pagans in the neighbouring villages « proclaimed aloud that the inhabitants of Ly-tou-pa were irreproachable. » The Mandarins of Kiu-hien thought otherwise, and suddenly appeared in the doomed village. The houses were sacked and pillaged, and the torture of the confessors followed next. « Will you renounce your religion, » cried a Mandarin, in the intervals of their torment.

(1) *Annals*, N° 119, p. 58. See also, for an authentic record of the principal details, the excellent work entitled, *Mission de la Cochin-Chine et du Tonkin*; (Paris, 1858).

« Never, » was the answer of all. At length « the mouths of the confessors were full of blood, and they were unable to reply. » One voice alone was heard to say, « Jesus! save us! » « Oh! they still pray, » exclaimed the Mandarin; « strike, strike, kill them! » « Their jaws are crushed; the blood gushes from their mouths; their hands hang paralysed, and the bloody scourge still makes deep gashes along their backs. » Five days after, they are brought up from prison, and commanded to trample on the Cross. « Mandarin, » replied one of them, in the name of his companions, « it useless to speak to us of apostasy. We are prepared to suffer every thing, rather than renounce our faith. Your can imprison, exile, or decapitate us, if you think fit, but can never deprive us of our God. On hearing these words, the judge struck his breast with bewilderment. He seemed to say, 'Alas! what is to be done with such people?' In a word, he had never met with Christians. » The letter which describes these details was written by the Père Bertrand, of the Society of Jesus, from the city of Kiu-hien, and dated the 23rd of August 1850.

The same triumphs were accomplished in China Proper, and with the same results. In 1848, Bishop Perrocheau writes from the great province of Su-tchuen, in the very heart of China, and this is his report. « In spite of the obstacles which the Mandarins oppose to the conversion of the infidels, we have admitted twelve hundred and eighty neophytes upon the roll of catechumens, and baptized eight hundred and eighty-eight adults within the year. God be praised! » It was of Bishop Perrocheau that the Viceroy of Su-tchuen, a cousin of the emperor, told

the Abbé Huc, that he knew the very house in which he lived, and he added, « I have not disturbed him, because I have convinced myself that he is a virtuous and charitable man. » (1)

From Nankin Bishop Maresca reports, almost at the same date, that he had baptized five thousand adults in the course of the year, and between fifteen and twenty thousand children, and that he had established the *Stations of the Cross* in nearly three hundred different localities.

In 1851, that we may continue the history to the present hour, Father Duclos died in prison, and Father Augustin Schœffer, a French missionary, perished on the scaffold. As the latter went to the place of execution, a placard was carried before him containing these words : « He confessed truly the whole charge of preaching the religion of Jesus. His crime is patent. Let M^r^ Augustin be beheaded, and cast into a stream. »

In 1852, Father Bonnard, at the age of twenty-nine, gained the martyr's crown. « Trample on the Cross, » they said to him, « or you shall be scourged and put to death. » « I have told you, » was his answer, « that I fear neither your scourging nor death. I did not come here to deny my religion, nor to set a bad example to the Christians. » All his care was for his disciples, who suffered with him, and who imitated his apostolic courage. His last letter but one to his Bishop, a confessor like himself, but who had escaped a hundred deaths, contained these words; « If I have ever given your Lordship or my

(1) *L'Empire Chinois*, tome I, ch. II, p. 51.

brethren any offence during the short time I have been on the mission, I entreat you to forgive me. Allow me, my Lord and Father, to cast myself, in spirit, at your feet, to ask your blessing. » « You have never offended me in any thing, » replied the venerable prelate. « The blessing you ask I have given you ever since your first arrival in the mission... When you are in heaven, bless us in your turn. » In his final letter the martyr says, « On the eve of my death, April 30th, 1852. I place my trust in the mercy of Jesus. I have the sweet hope that He has pardoned my innumerable offences. Should I be able to move the sovereign goodness of God in your favour, rest assured that I will not forget you. I die contented. Praise be to the Lord! Farewell to all in the sacred hearts of Jesus and Mary. *In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum.* »

The Bishop addressed the victim, whom he could not venture to approach, in these words. « I am jealous at seeing you depart before me for the heavenly kingdom, by the shortest and safest road, while I am still left to be tossed on this stormy sea. I, your bishop, the old captain who have seen twenty years service in a strange land, should not I have been crowned before you? How dare you thus supplant me? But I forgive you, because such is the will of God... Depart, then, in peace, favoured child of Providence. I envy you, indeed, but with the envy of love, with the jealousy of tenderness. How happy are you! You are about to join the Bories, the Cornays, the Schœfflers, and all the other apostles and martyrs of this mission. How great will be their joy to see you admitted into their glorious company! »

He went on foot to the place of execution, the heavy *cangue* round his neck, and holding up his chain with one hand. They had bound him so tightly that the blood oozed from his fingers. He was finally decapitated, and then cast into a river. That night his body was recovered, and the Bishop recited over him in a whisper the last offices of the Church. His clothes, covered with blood, and even his hair, were sold in pieces by the pagans to the Christians, who desired to possess the relics of a martyr.

In the same year, 1852, Bishop Louis de Castellazzo writes from the province of Chan-tong, that in nine years he had built twenty-two churches, some of which were capable of holding six hundred persons.

Still in the same year, Bishop Rizzolati, Vicar apostolic of Hou-Kouang, describes the tortures inflicted upon Father Andrew Koung, a Chinese priest, who was superior of the college of Hou-pe, and who received three hundred blows at once. He was known to be still alive in his dungeon in the following year.

In 1853, Bishop Lefebre reported to Europe the noble confession and death of Father Philip Minh, also a Chinese priest, and conspicuous among his colleagues for ability and prudence. When brought before the tribunal, he uttered this prayer, worthy of one of the primitive Saints. « My God, since it has pleased Thee to subject Thy humble and unworthy servant to this trial, I beseech Thee to grant me grace and fortitude to pass victorious through the contest in which I have engaged. Inspire me with words of wisdom and prudence, that I may answer

the magistrates with becoming fortitude. » When they desired him to trample upon a crucifix placed on the ground before him, and he had calmly refused, « the Mandarins ordered the satellites to drag him over it. They accordingly seized the chain with which he was loaded, and pulled him with all their force; but the fervent confessor sat down, resisting their efforts with the whole weight of his body, and their attempt was consequently unsuccessful. The magistrates no longer insisted upon the act, but proceded to draw up the sentence. » On the 3rd of July he was martyred. Whilst in prison, even the pagan soldiers were heard to deplore his fate, and when the last act was over, the bystanders said aloud, « The good priest has gone to heaven. » His head was cast into a river, but recovered by a Christian, and secretly buried with his body.

In 1856, Father Huong met the same fate, with the same fortitude and joy. The details were described in that year by Father Galy, a French missionary, who had himself been condemned to death fifteen years earlier, but was afterwards liberated. In 1854 he seemed again on the point of martyrdom, and wrote thus. « If I am seized, what happiness! At length the axe will no longer spare me. As a relapsed offender, no indulgence will be granted me.» And when a little later the same generous priest, in whom the prospect of martyrdom only excited joy and gratitude, heard of the arrest and subsequent liberation of Bishop Hermosilla, he observed in one of his letters; « I imagine that he will not feel much obliged to his people for the sum they paid for his deliverance, when his first wish was to die the death

of a martyr. The pity of our friends, however well intended, is sometimes fatal to us. »

It was also in 1856, on the 29th of February, that Father Chapdelaine was martyred, in the province of Quang-tong. He had a few days before been tortured, and had received one hundred blows in the face, so that his jaws were completely smashed. He was carried back to prison, frightfully mutilated, and unable to move hand or foot; yet a moment after, to the astonishment of all who saw him, « he rose up and began to walk, as if in perfect health. » When his guards asked him to tell them privately how it was possible that he should be able to walk, « the Father answered with a smile, It is because our good God has protected and blessed me. » (1)

Every year in succession witnessed the same combats, in which Europeans and natives, priests and laymen, men and women, fought the good fight, and yielded up their lives in testimony of the faith. The year 1857 was distinguished by confessions as remarkable as any in this long catalogue. On the 31st of January, a native priest and four Christians were beheaded. On the following day, eleven neophytes shared the same fate ; and two days after, ten others, all in the same town. On the 6th of April, Father Paul Tinh, at the age of sixty-seven, was beheaded. As he was led to execution, the grand mandarin took him aside, and assuring him of his esteem, offered him his life if he would renounce his religion. « Grand mandarin, » he replied, « my body is in your hands;

(1) *Annals*, vol. XVII, p. 346.

do what you like with it; but my soul belongs to God, nothing can induce me to sacrifice it to the king's pleasure. » The martydoms continued through April and May, and on the 20th of July the Spanish Bishop Diaz, after a long and fruitful apostolate, was beheaded in his turn. In 1858, his head was recovered by some Christian fishermen, and brought to Bishop Melchior, who was himself destined to a still more terrible martyrdom.

In 1859, Father Paul Loc was martyred at Saigon, three days before the arrival of the French expedition, of which the temporary failure has only increased the afflictions of the Christians. In this year the faith of the lay confessors was especially tried. Four hundred were seized at once in one place. John Hoa, the chief of a village, a man respected even by the pagans for his virtuous life, was tempted by the Mandarin with flattering words. « Your fault is not a crime, but I must request you to trample on the cross, that I may place you at the head of your district. You are a distinguished subject. What is the use of manifesting this obstinacy in degrading yourself, and why should you expose yourself to the torture? » « Let me die, rather than renounce my religion, » was his only answer.

« Will you agree to trample on the cross, that I may discharge you? » said a Mandarin to Martha Lanh, the superioress of a native religious community. « It is better to die, » she replied, « than to be unfaithful to God; » when the heathen judge ordered her to be smitten on the mouth, and to receive twenty-nine lashes with an iron rod. She received eighteen more lashes at a second examination, four-

teen at a third, and thirty-eight at a fourth; yet a month after she was still alive. (1)

When Elisabeth Ngo refused in the same year to put her foot on a cross which they had placed on the floor, and being cruelly scourged called aloud upon Jesus and Mary, the Mandarin ironically said, « Very-well, call upon your Jesus, and let him endure the torture in your place. » At a third examination, the Mandarin, furious at being baffled by a woman, lost all self-possession, and commanded her to be flogged to death. She received one hundred and fifteen blows, when the executioner stopped, and exclaimed, « She is dead. » « Unbind her, » said the Madarin, resolved to triumph at least over her corpse, « and drag her upon the cross. » At this order she seems to have recovered for a moment her consciousness, and « doubling up her legs, she held off the *cangue* with one hand, to prevent strangulation, while with the other she seized the sign of our Redemption, and raising it in the air, as a trophy of her victory and pledge of salvation, she cried out: ' God be praised! ' »

The Christians of China, then, from the days of Ricci to the present hour, have been ever the same. We have noticed only some of the more prominent incidents of their warfare, because it was impossible to mention them all. A few have apostatised under their torments, but others have hastened to seize the palm of which they had proved themselves unworthy. In 1805, after more than forty years of abandonment, Sir George Staunton estimated the

(1 *Annals*, No 123.

Christians of China Proper at 200,000. (1) In 1840, Commodore Read reported that « there are not less than 583,000 Catholic converts at this time. » (2) In 1859, there were 530,000 in Cochin China alone; (3) besides 40,000 in the city of Pekin, — 80,000 in the diocese of Nankin, (4) — 100,000 in the province of Su-tchuen, (5) — 60,000 in the district of Shang-hai, (6) — 40,000 in the diocese of Fukien, (7) — 16,000 in Corea, — 10,000 in Mongolia, — 9,000 in Thibet, — besides a proportionate number in other northern and eastern provinces, and many in Tartary and Mantchooria, amounting probably in the aggregate to more than a million. And the increase of pastors, in spite of incessant martyrdoms, has kept pace with that of disciples. In 1859, there were *fifty one* Bishops, and *six hundred and twenty-four* European and native priests, the latter numbering 428. There were also *eighteen ecclesiastical colleges*. Finally, the number of Chinese women who have embraced the religious life in the order of St.-Dominic is so great, that a few years ago a special persecution « was directed against the Chinese *Tertiaries*, » (8) and « whole

(1) *Laws of China*, p. 176, note.

(2) *Around the World*, by Commodore George Read, vol. II, p. 230.

(3) *Annals*, N° 119, p. 58.

(4) *Souvenirs d'une Ambassade en Chine et au Japon*, par le Marquis de Moges, ch. VII, p. 181, (1860).

(5) *L'Empire Chinois*, tome I, ch. VII, p. 333.

(6) *Visit to the Consular Cities of China*, by Rev^d George Smith, M. A., p. 140.

(7) *Five Years in China*, ch. XI, p. 184, (1848).

(8) *Life of Saint-Dominic*, ch. VII, p. 365, (1857).

families were united in the fellowship of the Order. »

And now we may conclude. Other victims have indeed been immolated, whose names, as well as the manner of their death, are known to us; and probably many more, of whom we shall never hear. In the first half of 1859, fourteen priests had been arrested almost simultaneously, of whom ten are known to have been strangled or decapitated. In 1861, we have already heard of the death or captivity of ten more. Three Bishops, at least, have been added to the army of martyrs. The Dominican Bishop Melchior, the successor of Bishop Diaz, was literally hacked to pieces. « Five executioners, » says the narrative of his martyrdom in the *Hong-Kong Register*, « commenced their frightful duty. They were armed with a kind of bill-hook, or hatchet, *purposely blunted*, in order to inflict greater suffering. They commenced by cutting off the legs above the knees, each limb receiving about twelve blows before it was severed. The same process was repeated with the arms. » Finally, they tore out his bowels, but « as long as strength remained, he ceased not to call on the name of Jesus. » His head was afterwards crushed to fragments, and thrown into the sea.

And still others come forth, day by day, to fill the place of the departed, and desire to be clothed with the blood-stained mantle which covered *them* in the days of their mortal toil. Still the Church offers her noblest children to God, and till the hour of His second coming will never cease to provide for sacrifice the appointed victims, « who are to be slain even as they. » But we have heard enough. Even

region of the earth will furnish in turn the same scenes to our contemplation, and the vastness of the field which we have still to traverse admonishes us not to linger on the way. In China, during three hundred years, from the first hour to the last, we have found the Catholic missionaries ever the same, and have seen them do what man cannot do by his own strength, nor has ever attempted to do but by the inspiration of God, and the counsels of the Church. She has proved herself to be in the nineteenth century what she was in the first; and the powers of darkness are obliged to confess, that she can send forth apostles now, and build up disciples, who are no other, in their faith and charity, in the holiness of their life and the majesty of their death, than the men who shared the toils of St. Peter, or gathered wisdom from the lips of St. Paul.

PART II.

PROTESTANT MISSIONS.

And now we have to exhibit the first example of that instructive Contrast of which every part of the earth will furnish a new one, and which it is the main purpose of these volumes to trace, in every land in which the Church and the Sects have confronted each other. What the Church can do, we have seen; let us ask the Sects to unfold, in their turn, the secrets of their annals. The day has at length arrived when we can apply to them the formidable test, *By their fruits ye shall know them.* And we have no reason to suppose that they will shrink from the trial. Protestantism has not usually worn a timid or modest front. Its voice has hitherto been loud and menacing, and in its passage through the north and west of Europe it has affected the mien of a conqueror rather than of a suppliant. But the inevitable

hour of trial arrives at last for all human things, and Protestantism must accept, with whatever repugnance, the inexorable judgment which it is the province of history to pronounce upon all the works of man.

The introduction of Protestantism into China has been described by Mr Gutzlaff, one of its earliest and most conspicuous advocates, and it is to his pages that we shall first have recourse. One remark, however, is needful by way of preface. Thus far we have spoken of grave men, engaged in a grave work. The sweet but solemn figure of Ricci and Schaal, of Verbiest and Parennin, of Sanz and Dufresse, and their martyred successors, has not yet faded from our recollection. We have now to hear of others, to whom, though professing another faith, we must endeavour to do justice. If, then, it should be found that the literal citation of their own words, the bare recital of their acts, reads like a satire, let not this be imputed as a fault to the annalist, who does but quote the one and record the other. If the history which a multitude of Protestant witnesses have traced of their own operations in China should seem to remove us, at one step, from the region of heroism to that of comedy, the writer, whose only aim is to present an epitome of their narratives, is evidently not responsible for this result. That he should abstain from unadvised or superfluous comment, the reader, to whom alone the office of judge belongs, may reasonably require; but this is all which he is entitled to demand. And with this caution we commence the history of Protestantism in China.

Mr Gutzlaff's narrative opens after this manner.

« Dr Morrison was *the first herald of the Gospel* who landed on the shores of China. » (1) A few years later, Dr White, a Protestant American bishop, used this language, in his ' Instructions for the Missionaries to China. ' « You cannot be ignorant that in a former age the Christian religion was extensively propagated in China, being countenanced by successive emperors, and others of high rank in the empire. » (2) Mr Gutzlaff was not ignorant of this historical fact, for he often bears unwilling testimony, as we shall see, to the noble warfare of the Catholic missionaries; but it was convenient to forget, in introducing his hero, what every body else remembered. Dr Morrison, then, was « the first herald, » if not of the Gospel, at least of Protestantism, in China, and we are invited by his various biographers to take note of his life and works in that land. We have ourselves no knowledge of either, but his friends and companions will freely supply whatever information we desire.

Dr Morrison, they tell us, commenced life in the humble guise of « apprentice to a last and boot-tree maker. » By honorable industry he rose from this lowly state to the office of a preacher, and, after some experience in this new function, accepted an offer, in spite of the remonstrance of his family, to proceed to Canton. On his voyage out, his widow — he was twice married — informs us that he « sat him patiently down to the Jesuit Harmony of the Gospels, composed in Chinese, and copied out every

(1) *China Opened*, vol. II, ch. xv, p. 233.

(2) *Cyclopœdia of American Literature*, by Duyckink, vol. II, p. 301, (1855).

syllable of it for his own future use. » It was impossible to acknowledge more frankly his obligation to the men whom he was now going to assist, or supplant, in converting the empire of China. His biographer adds, with pardonable enthusiasm, that perhaps « angelic eyes sometimes looked over his shoulder, beholding with growing admiration both the wisdom and goodness of God in thus training the man who was to unbar the gates of life to the millions of the East. » (1) As, however, his other biographers unanimously attest that Mr Morrison never unbarred any gates whatever, not even his own, which he always kept carefully locked, the millions of the East remained wholly unconscious of his presence.

Arrived at Macao, we learn from Mr Ellis, a well known Protestant missionary, that « so strong was his sense of the necessity of caution, so unwilling was he to obtrude himself on the notice of the people of Macao, that he never ventured out of his house. » (2) Now there were only two classes of people at Macao, the Chinese and the Catholics; from the former he had nothing to fear, since the government was in the hands of the Portuguese; and of the latter he says himself, « the Portuguese Roman Catholics do not do any thing violent against us; » while elsewhere he allows that they behaved to him with great civility, even conveying his letters and parcels between Macao and Canton, and sometimes giving or lending him books. Mr Ellis adds, therefore, with apparent rea-

(1) *Memoirs of Robert Morrison D. D.*, by his Widow, vol. I, p. 134.

(2) *Brief Notice of China and Siam*, by Revd W. Ellis, p. 59.

son, that « he carried this precaution further than was necessary; but it seemed better to err on the safe side. » Perhaps it would have been still safer to have remained in England, where he could at least have taken exercise freely; whereas « the first time he ventured out into the fields adjoining the town of Macao, » we are still quoting Mr Ellis, « was in a moonlight night, under the escort of two Chinese. »

But these timid and fugitive excursions, which could hardly have compensated him for so long a voyage, were evidently not his only employment; for his widow tells us, that while at Macao, he « found an object of tender esteem, » who henceforth occupied a prominent place in all his thoughts. If we were speaking of Mr Morrison simply as a British citizen, it would perhaps be ungenerous to notice the incidents of his domestic life; but as they are obtruded upon us by his partial biographers, who seem to think that they suitably illustrate the career of « the first herald » of Protestantism in China, we have no alternative but to take them into account in estimating his public character.

From this time forth, then, the pages of Mr Morrison's journal abound with ardent allusions to « my beloved Mary, » which alternate with texts of Scripture, and other more or less congruous topics. If his wife, for they were speedily married, has a headache, *he* records, in a volume which it was his intention to print, that « it pleased the Lord » to support her in some unexpected way; and if he has one himself, *she* — not the first, but the second wife — presently writes, that he did not « murmur, » but that « his entire acquiescence in the arrangements of Divine

Providence sustained his mind. » (1) Such were their mutual reflections on this familiar malady. But his journal has many entries of the same class. « It would be all easy, » he exclaims at one moment, « if Mary were well! » but the next, rebuking this transient weakness, he adds, « Patience, O my soul! » His soul, of which he candidly reveals the secrets, seems to have been in constant need of these admonitions. On one occasion he says, « my mind is in a serious frame, a little depressed, a little melancholy; but still holding fast. » On another day the entry is, « I have to day been *pretty* comfortable; » but on the next there was a change for the worse in his fitful and intermittent piety, and he was only « *tolerably* comfortable. » A little later, the season of gloom recurs, and he is « weighed down with an accumulated load of guilt. » But as all these passages, and many more like them, were destined to travel sixteen thousand miles, and to be published in England, he presently throws of this incubus of guilt, assumes a more cheerful tone, and rejoices, in characteristic language, to be once more under « the benignant government of Jehovah. »

There is no better test of a man's character than his habitual language. Mr Morrison's was, to say the least, peculiar. If he writes to one of the directors of the missionary society which employed him, and alludes, as he always does on such occasions, to some religious topic, he suddenly exclaims, — « pardon, dear Sir, my breaking off to vent the workings of my mind at this moment. » (2) Perhaps

(1) *Memoirs*, vol. I, p. 294.
(2) *Ibid.*, p. 166.

a man really overcome by religious emotion would have been more careful to hide than to print it. Sometimes he is more natural, and then he says crudely; « But for the cause I serve, I would gladly exchange my present situation for any in England or Scotland of 50 l. a year » (1) — a sentiment which, if not apostolic, was at all events perfectly genuine. But we are now sufficiently acquainted with Mr Morrison's character, and may proceed to review his actions.

We next find him settled at Canton. « In the close of the year 1818, » says Mr Ellis, « he received an appointment in the Honourable Company's factory, which he has held to the present time, (1834,) with credit to himself and satisfaction to the Company, and without neglecting the great object of his mission. » When we learn, as we shall do presently, how the « great object » advanced, we shall have no difficulty in believing that it suffered very little from his conflicting avocations in the factory; especially as his colleague Mr Milne tells us, in his Retrospect of the Mission, « all that the missionaries to China could frequently do » — he means the Protestant missionaries — « was to address an individual or two, with fear and trembling, in an inner apartment, *with the doors securely locked.* » It seems they still adopted the same excessive precautions at Canton which Morrison had employed at Macao; and while the Catholic missionaries and their converts were accepting martyrdom in every part of the empire, these heralds of another religion were cautiously hiding themselves in what a vehement preacher of their own sect calls

(1) P. 310.

with honest contempt; « a skulking and precarious sojourn in obscurity and disguise. » (1)

Mr Ellis, however, though he relates all these incidents, is of opinion that « to persevere under such circumstances, » — as a great many merchants and clerks at Canton were doing at the same moment, — « required no common strength of principle, no faint and wavering love to Christ and love to souls, and no mere transient impulse of desire for their salvation. » Whatever else we may think of this sentiment, we cannot at least deny, that Mr Ellis is in all respects a suitable biographer of Mr Morrison.

It appears that Morrison's salary at the factory was 500 l. a year, « which was, after a few years, increased to 1000 l. » (2) It was on his promotion to this income, which he no doubt faithfully earned, that his widow makes the following remark. « *Thus* did the Supreme Disposer of all events attest the fidelity of His servant, and make plain his way before him! » We may venture, however, to doubt whether the acquisition of a liberal income is always a conclusive proof of acceptance with the « Supreme Disposer. » « Blessed is he who hath a thousand a year, » though it expresses a popular conviction, is hardly an accurate version of the First Beatitude.

But Mr Morrison, already a « missionary » and a factory clerk, had other sources of income. He was also a private tutor, and makes mention of « a Dutch

(1) *China and the Chinese Mission*, by Revd James Hamilton, p. 20.

(2) *History of the Propagation of Christianity among the Heathen*, by Revd W. Brown, M. D., vol. II, p. 252.

youth, my fifth pupil. (1) » It was perhaps fortunate that « the millions of the East » never lifted the latch of his door, for he could hardly have had much time at their disposal. He found leisure, however, to pursue his study of Chinese, and as he had begun with a Harmony of the Gospels composed by the Jesuits, so he continued to the end to profit by the labours of Catholics. « I cannot refrain from inserting, » he says, « that I have now the assistance of Chinese Christians *of the Romish Church.* » Elsewhere his journal records, « I read part of the Exposition of the Ten Commandments *by the Catholics.* » His immediate teacher was Abel Yun, « a Roman Catholic Chinese from Pekin, » and a convert of the Jesuits, who had « taught him the Latin language, which he speaks fluently. » At another time the entry is, — « Received from a Chinese Roman Catholic a present of three small volumes; his younger brother, an intelligent boy, sold me a book of Meditations. » (2)

But his intercourse with Catholics was not always limited to the purchase or acceptance of their books. Sometimes he even visited their churches, where he saw multitudes of Christians — a « vast number » is his own expression — worshipping God, not « with locked doors, » nor « in fear and trembling, » but as openly as they might have done in London or Paris. I went, he says, « on Friday evening to the Roman Catholic cathedral, » where he found the people commemorating the Passion of our Lord. There was, he

(1) *Memoirs*, vol. I, p. 293.

(2) *Missionary Transactions of the London Missionary Society*, vol. III, p. 328.

tells us, in the church « a representation of Jesus, » and « the preacher called upon the people to look at the part into which the spear was thrust, and held out his finger to point to it. In a corner was a figure as large as life, laid in a tomb, and exhibited as the body of Jesus. The people went forward, one after another, and kissed the feet of the figure. » (1). And then Mr Morrison went home, meditating perhaps upon this instructive scene, and comprehending how the Chinese Christians had grown familiar with the Passion of their Redeemer, and whence they had derived courage to confess Him openly before men, and even, when the occasion arose, to lay down their lives for Him.

Mr Morrison, however, continued, as Mr Ellis says, « to err on the safe side. » But he remembered that he had been sent to China as a « missionary, » and that he must at least do something to keep up the character; and so, in the florid language of Mr Ellis, « this devoted missionary tried the practicability of printing part of the Scriptures. » The catholics had anticipated him in this good work by four hundred years, as Neander has told us in speaking of John de Monte Corvino; and the candid Mr Medhurst was aware, as he confesses, that a second time, at a later date, « the Catholics had translated the major part of the New Testament into Chinese. » Mr Morrison was also conscious of this fact, and endeavoured to turn it to good account. « The Acts of the Apostles, » we learn from his biographer, « the translation of which had been the work of some Roman Catholic missionary, was

(1) *Memoirs*, vol. I, p. 361.

his first undertaking. » (1) He might well confess his obligations « to the Catholics, » who, as Abel Remusat says, « composed in Chinese in a style equal to the best authors of that country. » But Mr Morrison, even with the aid of such masters, could only spoil their work. His version of the Scriptures has long since been abandoned as useless; his Grammar, Protestants tell us, « is rather a record of the imperfection than of the completeness of his own progress; » (2) while his Dictionary, though copied from that of Father Prémare, is « full of faults » according to Klaproth, (3) and « very defective » according to Mr Taylor Meadows. (4)

But it was nothing to write books, imperfect as they were, and costing enormous sums, unless he could get them into circulation. There was, however, some danger of irritating the Chinese, and Mr Morrison, we have seen, was accustomed to precautions. « As to circulating the books which I have printed, » he says, with perfect candour, « there is nothing done in this respect but with the utmost secrecy and caution, and in a way that could not easily be traced to me. » Yet an ardent Protestant assures us, that « the Jesuits, » meaning the Catholic missionaries, « have never found any difficulty in circulating the books which they have printed in Chinese; but on the contrary, they have been obliged, after circulating a large impression, to print a second

(1) *Brief Notice*, etc., p. 61.
(2) *Monthly Review*, vol. LXLIX, p. 469.
(3) Note to Timkowski's *Travels*, vol. I, ch. IX, p. 350.
(4) *Desultory Notes on the Government and People of China*, p. 24.

edition. » (1) Men who exposed their lives every hour of the day were not likely to indulge excessive caution about their books ; and in noticing the contrast, we may perhaps accept the explanation of an English Protestant, whose sympathies were all in his favour, that « Dr Morrison's labours were not of a dazzling and heroic order. (2)

Thus far this « first herald » of Protestantism in China hardly attracts our sympathy; nor can we agree with his amiable biographer, that « angelic eyes, » which love to took on brave and saintly deeds, were likely to derive much satisfaction from the contemplation of his cautious proceedings. But it is time to enquire, before we pass to others, what success he had in inducing the refractory « millions of the East » to enter « the gates of life. » He will tell us himself.

« On the Lord's day I have preached to the Chinese in my own house, but I have not to rejoice over them as converted to God. » (3) Yet in the next sentence he tells us of four Catholic missionaries just banished from Pekin, because they had been too successful in the same attempt. Again; while he is himself carefully shut up in his house, « with locked doors, » he frankly admits, though apparently without deriving any instruction from the contrast, that « the Christians here » — i.e. the Catholics — « are discovered by their refusing to subscribe to the public idolatrous rites of the heathen. » Speaking of an out-

(1) *Memoir on sending the Scriptures to China*, by William Moseley, p. 22.

(2) *The Cross and the Dragon*, By John Kesson, ch. xv, p. 211.

(3) *Memoirs*, vol. I, p. 298.

burst of persecution in the province of Su-tchuen, he says of the Catholics; « the two leaders, *who would not recant*, are ordered to be strangled immediately. Thirty-eight, *who also refused to recant*, are ordered to be sent to Tartary, to be given as slaves to the Eleuths. » (1) A little later, in 1820, he notices, that « four poor men, barbers, at Pekin, were seized, and *would not renounce* ' the European religion. ' » So that they were every where the same, whether at Canton, Pekin, or in the interior provinces of the empire; even these poor Chinese neophytes, barbers, shopkeepers, and women, being more courageous soldiers of the Cross than this educated and opulent representative of English Protestantism.

Again and again he refers to similar examples, but only to adhere more closely to his own manner of life. « A French missionary, » he says, « after repeated orders were sent to him, was obliged to leave; whilst I remained unmolested. » Why should they molest him? What was a servant in the English factory to them? « There have been edicts, » he adds triumphantly, « against the Roman Catholic missionaries, threatening them with severe penalties; but *my* name and pursuits are, I believe, wholly unknown to the Chinese government. » (2) No doubt they were, although he had now been there about six years. If St. Paul had practised as many precautions as M^r^ Morrison, he would have known neither bonds nor imprisonment, neither scourging nor death, — but the heathen would have remained unconverted.

(1) *Ibid.*, vol. II, p. 35.
(2) *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 209.

The entry in his journal of March 15th, 1813, is as follows : « Present at worship only A-Fo, Low-Hëen, A-Pan, and A-Yun. At the beginning of worship they were irreverent and laughed, » which seems to have surprised him; yet surely the spectacle of a married gentleman, in an easy attitude, reading something out of a book, was not awe-inspiring, and might well appear to this mirthful congregation far below even their own idea of « worship. » On the 18th of April, « six were present; » and on the 9th of May he is able to say, « I was mistaken in saying that I never had more than nine; there were this morning, » including the ladies of his party and the servants, « ten persons at worship. » But on the 23rd of the same month comes the sorrowful admission, « I am concerned that *none* seem to feel the power of truth; » and again, a few Sundays later, — for their religion only manifested itself on Sunday, — « I am concerned that my ministrations are apparently in vain. » In the following year, 1814, « on February 28th, Lord's day, I addressed *five* persons, from the 12th chapter of Hebrews. I was myself deeply interested in the subject. » Unfortunately the interest began and ended with himself. And twelve months later, he is still « conducting worship with Mrs Morrison and Mrs Milne, » the « millions of the East » being completely deaf to the feeble accents of so cautious a herald. Three years after, Mr Medhurst still reports, that « his labours were confined to the narrow sphere of his own household. »

In 1820, the same sterility is once more attested by the various colleagues who had now joined him, and Morrison writes to the Society at home, « all

the new missionaries complain to me of being dispirited. » (1) Yet Mr Medhurst, speaking of this very year, says, — « a French missionary was strangled in the province of Hoo-pih, by order of the government; and L'Amiot, who had been twenty-seven years in Pekin, was banished to Macao. » Mr Medhurst adds, « they have now Catholic communities in all the provinces, and in many there are public chapels, where service is performed by native priests. » And then he notices, with not unnatural admiration, that the Lazarist Fathers had even established an ecclesiastical seminary « *in Tartary*, beyond the wall of China. » (2)

In 1821, for lapse of time brings no change, « Dr Morrison was much concerned at the small effect produced by his labours. » In 1822, he still writes, « there are few natives on whose conscience divine truth has made an impression. » In 1832, after ten years more of enormous expenditure, « only ten persons have been baptized; » every one of whom was immediately, in spite of what Morrison himself calls their « obscure views, » provided for by « the mission, » and employed in printing, but apparently without securing their fidelity; for some years after, the Revd. Howard Malcolm, who was sent to visit and report upon all the Protestant missions in the East, candidly informed his employers, — « *there is no Chinese convert* at Canton, nor religious services in that language, nor giving of tracts. » (3) And this is confirmed by Dr Wells

(1) Vol. II, p. 26.
(2) *China, Its State and Prospects*, ch. IX, p. 243.
(3) *Travels in South Eastern Asia*, p. 189.

Williams, an American missionary, who confesses, in 1839, that « the prospect at his death was nearly as dark as when he landed ; » (1) while even of the « baptized » printers Morrison himself records, that they were of such doubtful morality, that they were commonly addicted to theft, and, on one occasion, « stole several cases of type. » (2)

We may now pass to other witnesses. The « first herald » of Protestantism in China has confessed his failure. Whatever he put his hand to came to nought. He established a newspaper, and it died with the first number. He founded a school, and out of a total of 29 pupils, 9 were dismissed for « bad conduct » or « stupidity, » 3 ran away, and 8 were removed by their parents. (3) He published books which have long been abandoned as worthless; and after expending, either upon himself or his literary failures, about 100,000 l., contributed chiefly by the people of these islands, did no more towards the conversion of China than if he had never quitted the shores of England. In 1834, the year of his death, his journal contains this passage : « It is thirty years since I was accepted as a missionary in Mr Hardcastle's counting house. » Who Mr Hardcastle was, and how he came to cumulate in his own person the functions of a merchant and a pontiff, is not explained; but as almost the last entry still deplores his « small success, » this he appears to have thought he ought to account for. He does it in this manner. « I think it is utterly impracticable to any but a Ro-

(1) *The Middle Kingdom*, vol. II, ch. XIX, p. 327.
(2) *Memoirs*, vol. II, p. 67.
(3) *Chinese Repository*, vol. XII, p. 623.

man Catholic missionary, who has persons in the interior already attached to his cause, » to venture into the country. Yet his colleague Mr Medhurst answers this unworthy plea by the honest rejoinder, that « the Catholic missionaries had once no knowledge of or adherents in China, but went forth in the first instance unprotected; » and Morrison repeatedly acknowledges that, the heathen being now on the watch for them, they run the same risks, perhaps greater, at the present day than in earlier times. « Three European Roman Catholic missionaries, » he says in one place, « entered China about a year ago... there was a great risk of losing their lives if discovered by the government. » And again; « There is a native Roman Catholic at the seminary in Macao, who is preparing for a mission to Corea. Many have lost their lives there, but this person is willing to sacrifice himself. *He offers himself up to God.* »(1) He only stops short of the confession which a more candid co-religionist makes for him, when he says; « The risks the Catholic missionary would run, and the dangers he would hazard, are greater than those which the Protestant missionary feels himself called upon to encounter. » (2) In other words, the latter is willing to write and preach, but not willing to suffer or die. And this invariable and admitted contrast between the two classes is thus explained, with partial accuracy, by an American Protestant bishop, who had noted the same unwelcome fact in other lands; « Why is it that *we* contemplate such an

(1) *Memoirs*, vol. I, p. 403.
(2) *The Cross and the Dragon*, ch. XIV, p. 189.

enterprise with terror? Is it not because we have lost the true original idea of the ministerial commission? » (1)

In 1834, Dr Morrison reached the climax of his fortunes, and was made vice-consul, with a salary of 1300 l. a year — « rather an anomalous place for a missionary, » as he himself observes, though he cheerfully acquiesced in the anomaly, and would have profited by it without scruple; but in this year he died, and left his place to others, to run the same career, record the same confessions, and repeat the same failures.

The second herald of Protestantism in China was Mr Milne; but as Morrison reports that « Mr Milne is engaged in preaching to a few Europeans, » — and Medhurst adds that, « finding that the public preaching of the Gospel, and free intercourse with the natives, were *difficult* in China, Mr Milne removed to Malacca » (2) — we need not ask from him any further testimony to the character of Protestant missions.

The third was Mr Medhurst, well known by his work on China, and a man of considerable ability and remarkable candour. It is Mr Medhurst who quotes with approbation the confession of his colleague Mr Milne, with respect to Ricci and his followers; « they will be equalled by few, and perhaps rarely exceeded by any; » and then he adds, with a kind of involuntary enthusiasm, — « They have long since joined the army of Martyrs, and are now wearing the

(1) *Narrative of a Tour in Turkey and Persia*, by Revd Horatio Southgate, vol. I, ch. XVII, p. 293.

(2) *China*, etc., ch. X, p. 264.

crowns of those who spared not their lives unto the death, but overcame by the blood of the Lamb, and the word of His testimony. »

Mr Medhurst goes still further, and forcibly contrasts, though perhaps without intending to do so, the constant valour of the Catholic missionaries with the incorrigible pusillanimity of their Protestant contemporaries. « Dozens of Catholic priests, » he says, « are every year clandestinely introduced into the country ; » while « Protestant missionaries limited their efforts for a quarter of a century to those parts where Europeans generally reside, or where the British and Dutch governments afforded protection. » (1).

He notices also, though without comment, the apostolic poverty of the same courageous men. « The salary of each native priest, » he says, « is eighty two dollars yearly » — rather less than 17 l. He might have added, if he had known it, that even the French and Spanish priests, some of whom are members of great European families, only receive 500 francs, or 20 l., per annum, for their whole support ; and even from this scanty allowance « a portion is deducted, either for the support of the college of the mission, or for providing wine for the Holy Sacrifice, as well as books, etc. »

Mr Medhurst gives us some information about the Protestant « converts, » whom he describes with his usual sincerity. Of « one of the first baptized » he reports, that « when told that money was never given, except for work done or goods delivered, he became

(1) *Ibid.*, ch. VI, p. 135.

indifferent, and is now, we fear, gone back. » (1) Of another he says, « he was so far softened as to worship Jehovah, though he continued to adore the idols of the country. » This convert had apparently adopted the Roman universality of worship, and was quite willing to admit any number of new gods, provided he was not asked to abandon the old.

Of another convert, a certain Chin, Mr Medhurst gives this account. « He is a smoker of opium. He will of course find eight to ten dollars per month very inadequate. » It appears, then, that this was their bribe to a « convert. » « He once promised fair to be a Christian; when in affliction he destroyed his idol, when restored, gave loose to evil habits. » A still more curious specimen of Protestant neophytes was Lee, a Chinese of Malacca, evidently a man of considerable resources, who speculated with much ingenuity upon the forlorn solitude of his wealthy teachers. Allowing Mr Medhurst to suppose that he was about to desert him, though nothing was further from his thoughts than to forfeit his lucrative friendship, the latter wrote off urgently to Morrison, entreating him to promise that Lee should be appointed « the first Chinese teacher in the college, » — which was precisely what that intelligent individual aimed at.

The college here referred to was established at Malacca, with the object of providing native Protestant teachers in China. Its history deserves a brief review. Thousands of pounds were expended upon it, and these were the results. Mr Howard Malcolm reported, after an official visit, that « the schools so vi-

(1) Ch. xi, p. 297.

gorously and so long maintained, have not been prolific of spiritual good. *Thousands* who have attended them are now heads of families, but *no Malay Christian, that I could learn, is to be found in the place.* » (1) Dr Wells Williams adds, that the « Protestant missions among the Chinese emigrants in Malacca, Penang, Singapore, Rhio, Borneo, and Batavia, have never taken much hold upon them, and they are at present all suspended or abandoned, (2) — after an expenditure which no report will ever reveal to the world. The Rev. Dr Brown, the historian of Protestant missions, says, that « these stations had been carried on for many years, and though much labour and money had been expended upon them, they had been attended with little success, particularly as regarded the conversion of souls. » « The Anglo-Chinese College, » he adds, « dragged on for years a languid existence, » but, in spite of its cost, « was never in a state of much efficiency, as regarded either professors or students (3). » Once they made a convulsive effort to arrest its decay, by announcing that they would admit, not Chinese, for whom it was intended, but « persons of any Christian communion (4). » No one came, and in 1842 it was closed, and transferred to Hong-kong, with results which shall be noticed hereafter. Such, as their own witnesses attest, was the issue of all the Protestant schemes in the Archipelago.

(1) *Travels in S. Eastern Asia*, ch. II, p. 114

(2) *The Middle Kingdom*, vol. II, ch. XIX, p 331.

(3) *Hist. Prop. Christianity*, vol. II, p. 264.

(4) *British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca*, by T.J. Newbold esq., vol. I, ch. IV, p. 182.

On the other hand, as early as 1824, there were already 3,000 Catholics in Malacca alone; and in Singapore, as Commodore Wilkes notices, although the Protestants « have not met with any success, the Catholics have already made one hundred and fifty proselytes to their faith, though they have only so recently arrived. » (1) And Mr Malcolm adds, that « at Singapore, where extraordinary efforts have been made, not a single Malay has yet been converted to the Protestant religion; while the Catholic missionaries, who have two churches there, have effected a great number of conversions amongst the Malays, the Chinese, and others, and assemble every sunday in their churches a considerable concourse of men of all religion. What can be the reason of this difference? » The only one he can suggest is, that « the Papist missionaries are in general men of pure morals, and live much more humbly. » (2) A few years later, in 1856, the handful of Catholics had become seven thousand, and in that single year four hundred and fourteen pagans were converted and baptized. (3) On the other hand, Mr Windsor Earl reports once more « that the labours of British missionaries have been absolutely thrown away. » He notices moreover the usual fact, that « they have invariably remained at the chief settlements of the Europeans; » and that « the effects of their labours are rarely heard of, except through the medium of missionary publications *brought out from England.* » (4)

(1) *United States Exploring Expedition*, vol. V, p. 396.
(2) *Travels in S. Eastern Asia*, III, 24.
(3) *Madras Catholic Directory* for 1860. p. 175.
(4) *The Eastern Seas*, ch. XII, p. 398.

And Mr Walter Gibson relates, in 1856, of the city of Batavia, that « the Catholic clergy were the only ones who ever paid any visits of mercy and charity. » (1) Yet all these witnesses are eager Protestants. Finally, when M. Papin visited the defunct Malacca College, one of the Protestant missionaries frankly avowed, « that the enormous expenses incurred in its construction were only so much money thrown into the sea, and that all which had been reported of it in Europe was pure charlatanism. » (2)

Let us return to Mr Medhurst. In a letter to Morrison, who made no secret of his own hopeless failure, he asks, — « *Why are we not successful in conversions?* » (3) The true answer does not seem to have occurred to him, and the « sad disunion » among the Protestant Missionaries is the only explanation which he admits. Perhaps the evidence still to be offered in these pages may afford a more complete one.

His own failure, in spite of his talents and genial character, appears to have been as manifest to his intimate associates as to himself; for Mr Davidson says of him, just before he made his final move to Shang-hae, in the hope of redeeming the years which he had already wasted, — « Mr Medhurst has been a personal friend of mine for these twenty years, and he will believe me when I say that I heartily wish him all success; but of his success I have my doubts! » (4)

(1) *Glance at the East Indian Archipelago*, p. 385.
(2) *Annales*, tome VII, p. 585.
(3) Morrison's *Memoirs*, vol. I, p. 14.
(4) *Trade and Travel in the Far East*, ch. XVII, p. 279.

Mr Medhurst, who was too honest to conceal or pervert the facts which were continually under his observation, appears to sum up his conviction of the impotence of all Protestant efforts to convert the heathen, especially in China, in these words. « The Christian public having got the idea *that China is shut*, must retain their opinion until we can get men of God to open it. » Yet at the very moment when Mr Medhurst pronounced this sentence upon Protestant missionaries, the eighteen provinces of China had been constituted into as many apostolic vicariates, in each of which there was a Catholic Bishop, in many of them two, besides other prelates in Corea and the kingdom of Annam, not one of whom was tempted to doubt that China had been « open to men of God » for many centuries.

There is much conflict among Protestant writers on the question whether China is, or ever will be, « open » to their efforts. The differences of opinion are remarkable. Dr Reed says, « China is as open now, and has been for the last twenty years, as it ever will be till we strive to enter » (1) — a statement with which his readers will probably concur. On the other hand, Mr Howard Malcolm affirms with energy, from actual observation, — « I am not only persuaded that at this moment China is *not* open to the settlement of Christian teachers, but satisfied that Protestants are far from being ready to have it open. » (2) In 1849, a Protestant missionary says, « China is *now* ripe for the Gospel; » (3) but in 1854

(1) *Visit to the American Churches*, vol. I, p. 76.
(2) *Travels*, etc., vol. II, p. 196.
(3) *Missionary Gleaner*, July, 1852.

the Society which employed him is still asking, « *Has* the time arrived for sending the Gospel to China? » (1) Evidently the whole question depends upon what these gentlemen understand by « open. » China is quite as open to Christian teachers as Thrace was to St. Paul, or Britain to St. Augustine — indeed a good deal more so. « When I left China, » says Mr Lay, « there were at least half a million of natives living within the range of our daily excursions, with whom a missionary might have as many interviews as he pleased. » (2) Lieut Forbes adds, that « perfect toleration is granted to all sects of Christianity in the five ports; » (3) and Mr Tomlin declared, in 1844, — sixteen years ago, — that « through the length and breadth of the land an English missionary might pass with little difficulty... as the writer and all his missionary brethren who have been much amongst the Chinese can attest. » (4) Yet the Protestant missionaries, though danger has long since disappeared, at least in the regions which they frequent, are still asking if China is « open, » still repeating Mr Medhurst's question, « why are we not successful in conversions? »

Our next witness is Mr Gutzlaff, the most ambitious and active of all the « heralds » whom Protestantism has sent to China. It will be useful to form some acquaintance with his character, and with the results of his busy life and labours.

Of Ricci Mr Gutzlaff says, « what might not Ricci

(1) *Id.*, August, 1854.
(2) *The Chinese as they are*, ch. VI, p. 58.
(3) *Five Years in China*, ch. XI, p. 185.
(4) *Missionary Journals*, Introd., p. 17.

have done had he dedicated his labours to the Blessed Redeemer? » (1) Almost in the next page he quotes the letter of the Empress Helena of China to Pope Alexander VII, in which she utters the prayer of her heart that « the Emperor, and all his subjects, might learn to know and adore the true God, Jesus Christ. » Mr Gutzlaff does not ask himself, who taught her that name? or who gave her courage to confess it, even from the steps of her imperial throne? Yet he might have known, and probably did know, what so many of his co-religionists in China have proclaimed. The Catholic missionaries, says Mr Malcolm, taught « the glorious doctrine of the Divine Unity. The true God was set before the Chinese. Every part of the Empire was pervaded by the discussion of the new faith. Thousands and tens of thousands saw and acknowledged the truth. True, they were Jesuits, » — a good many of them were Franciscans, Dominicans, or Lazarists, — « but that very many of them were holy and devoted men is proved by their pure lives, severe labours, innumerable privations, and serene martyrdom. » (2) Mr Hamilton also, a Presbyterian preacher, more violent and prejudiced than even most of his order, seems astonished at his own confession that « some of their converts appear to have been exemplary Christians, » and that « on the Trinity and Incarnation they are clear; while the perfections of the Deity, the corruption of human nature, and redemption by Christ are fully stated. » (3) Yet Mr Gutzlaff could

(1) *History of China*, by Revd Charles Gutzlaff, vol. II, p. 121.
(2) *Travels*, etc., vol. II, p. 225.
(3) *China and the Chinese Mission*, p. 15.

affect to doubt whether Ricci « dedicated his labours to the Blessed Redeemer. »

A few pages further on, forgetting what he had just said, Mr Gutzlaff notices a modern Catholic Bishop, Monseigneur de Saint-Martin, who, as he says, « testified to Jesus Christ before the Mandarins — a noble testimony worthy to be recorded. » In an other place he relates, that « while the missionaries held assemblies, and instituted congregations, in honour of the Holy Virgin, they had also assemblies where the most fervent Christians meditated upon the death and sufferings of our Saviour. » (1) We shall see presently how many such assemblies Mr Gutzlaff and his friends succeeded in forming.

There is a strange inconsistency in Mr Gutzlaff's writings, — at one time arrogant and boastful, at another almost abject, — which makes it difficult to attach a definite meaning to his words. « Probably few men, » says the Chinese Interpreter to H. M. Civil Service, « have excelled Dr Gutzlaff in the capacity for rapidly inditing sentences containing a number of propositions not one of which should be correct. In fact all his labours are characterised by superficiality. » (2) At one moment he sneers at the Catholic missionaries for « propagating the legends of saints, » and at another lauds their sublime confessions before the tribunals; in one page he reproaches them for not preaching Christ, though they preached Him only, and in the next he espouses the cause of the Nestorians, who made void the whole doctrine

(1) *Journal of Three Voyages along the Coast of China*, p. 398.
(2) *The Chinese and their Rebellion*, ch. XVIII, p. 376.

of the Incarnation, against what he calls the « cold-hearted orthodoxy » of the Fathers of Ephesus. Yet Mr Gutzlaff was eminent amongst the Protestant missionaries of China, and we are obliged to refer to him, both for the sake of his evidence, and also as a conspicuous specimen of a preacher of Protestantism to the heathen.

Mr Gutzlaff travelled more than any of his colleagues, and boasted of it; but Mr Malcolm, who evidently appreciated him, says, — « To pour annually millions of tracts along the same line of coast; to go in face of prohibitory edicts, and only as protected by cannon; and to be at the expence of both tracts and voyage, while so many of the books are yet scarcely intelligible, is at best but a very imperfect mode of conducting a mission. » And again he says, « Mr Gutzlaff's usefulness can extend little beyond his study and his scholars. » (1) Like Morrison, he was a private tutor as well as a missionary, until he abandoned both callings for a more remunerative profession.

Sometimes, we have said, Mr Gutzlaff could use humble words : here is an example. « Protestants have been anxious to occupy the outposts, rather than to enter the Chinese empire. » He does not tell us why they displayed an anxiety so unusual in Christian missionaries, but he adds, « in the outer settlements, where the missionaries were *at liberty* to act, they have established schools etc.... Yet the grand work of evangelising China can scarcely be said to have commenced in earnest. » And again; « there are ten

(1) *Travels*, etc., vol. II, ch. II, p. 194.

native converts, truly a small number! » (1) But such modesty was unusual with him, and he desires the world to understand, that if he and his friends have completely failed in China, they have been much more successful in Siam. He hoped, perhaps, that no one would know any thing about the latter country, and forgot that Providence has its own witnesses. Let us follow him to Siam.

« Of the various individuals mentioned as encouraging in the public journals of Messrs Gutzlaff and Tomlin, » says Mr Malcolm, who fortunately visited Siam, « *none* have continued so. » (2) The Protestant missionaries, said Dr Ruschemberger a little later, « are toiling in a cause the success of which appears to be almost hopeless. » (3) Later still, Dr Judson abandoned Siam in despair, with this farewell address; « Read the five hundred tracts that I have left with thee! » (4) And Mr Abeel, also a missionary, after protesting against « those favourable but false conclusions which are too frequently deduced from missionary journals, » confesses of the pretended Protestant converts in Siam, « there were no grounds of certainty for concluding that *any* had been renewed in the spirit of their minds. » (5) Long after, in 1842, the American Board for Foreign Missions unwillingly

(1) *China Opened*, vol. II, ch. xv, p. 233.

(2) *Travels*, etc., vol. II, ch. II, p. 159.

(3) *Voyage round the World*, by W. S. Ruschenberger, M. D., ch. XXXI, p. 310.

(4) *Memoirs of the Revd Adoniram Judson, D. D.*, by Francis Wayland, vol. I, p. 503.

(5) *Journal of a Residence in China*, by Revd David Abeel, ch. X, p. 234.

confess, that « the members of both missions have utterly failed to establish a permanent school among the Siamese. » (1) And then comes the usual contrast. Mr Crawfurd admits that, more than thirty years ago, the « Catholic Christians of Siam » were becoming a numerous body. (2) Dr Richardson, who was sent thither on a mission by the Indian Government, speaks with honour of « the highly respectable men » by whom the Catholics were instructed in the faith, and adds, that besides the native Christians, « there are fourteen hundred Cochin Chinese Roman Catholics. » (3) — Mr Abeel angrily describes the same class at Batavia, where « a number of Cochin Chinese, » he says, « professed the Roman Catholic religion, and evinced a degree of caution and bigotry which had no doubt been inspired by their calculating leaders. » It seems that these Chinese confessors, driven by persecution from their own country, rejected his tracts with contempt, and told him, as he confesses, in answer to his own remark that Protestants made no converts, — « The fault is in your doctrines; if they were true, there would be no lack of genuine disciples. » Their own faith had been proved under sore trial, and when they told him to his face that there were « thousands upon thousands » of Catholics in their own country, this Protestant teacher, who could not so much as induce a single soul, in China, Siam, Batavia, or any where else, even to listen to him, makes this comment on the religion for which

(1) *Reports*, p. 159.

(2) *Embassy to Siam*, etc., ch. VI, p. 162.

(3) *Journal of a Mission to the Coast of Siam*, in *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. IX, p, 237.

they had sacrificed all; — « If the word of these men can be relied on, how widely prevalent must be its errors, and how anti-christian its influence in Cochin China! » (1) An interesting illustration of the nature of that influence, as respects their instruction, is supplied by Mr Finlayson, who was much struck by meeting a native who spoke Latin with great purity, and who « had received his education in Siam, in the Catholic seminary. » (2) But the same influence was sometimes manifested in a manner which would be still more offensive to Mr Abeel. The prime minister of Siam, we are told by Mr Hugh Murray, having visited England towards the close of the 17th century, « had become a protestant in London, but the diligence of the missionaries at Siam brought him within the pale of the Catholic Church. » (3) Lastly, Mr Neale declares, that « it is not to be wondered at that the Siamese readily give ear to the Catholic priest, bound like their own in bonds of perpetual celibacy. » And then he gives some account of the Protestant missionaries, to the number of « seven or eight, and their families, » located on the two banks of the river near Bangkok. « The missionaries on one side were at warfare with those on the opposite bank regarding certain points of Church doctrine; but as they were all supported by one Society, they were compelled to have a board meeting once a month, to draw up reports, and send in their drafts for monthly pay. » (4)

(1) *Journal*, p. 150.
(2) Finlayson's *Mission to Siam*, ch. III, p. 136.
(3) *Discoveries in Asia*, vol. III, book 5, ch. I, p. 233.
(4) *Residence in Siam*, ch. II, p. 34.

Captain Laplace also remarked during his stay in this country, that « the missionaries established in Siam are chiefly occupied in disputing with one another, and condemning each other to eternal fire. » (1)

On the other hand, — « The Catholic Missionary Society at Bangkok, when I was there, » says Mr Neale, « consisted of one Bishop and about ten French priests, besides one or two proselyte Chinese priests. Of the former I can hardly name one that was not endowed with every talent that strict collegiate education could afford; and the latter were useful, because, besides being sincere Christians, they possessed the power of expounding the Scriptures to their Chinese brethren. » (2) And this is confirmed by Mr Earl, in spite of rooted prejudice, when he says, that the great success they have met with in Cochin China, and in other parts of Eastern Asia, is to be attributed to « their entire devotion to the cause in which they are engaged, » and their utter indifference « to pecuniary emolument. » (3) The Catholic missionaries, » says Sir John Bowring, in 1857, — it is well to continue the testimony to the latest moment — « have certainly always exhibited a zeal, a patience, a devotion the most perfect and persevering; » and then, after noticing that there are 7,050 Catholic converts in Siam, he adds, — nearly forty years after Mr Gutzlaff's venturesome account of his own and his friends' triumphs, — « it may be doubted

(1) *Campagne de circumnavigation de la frégate l'Artémise*, tome IV, p. 117.

(2) *Residence*, etc., p. 39.

(3) *The Eastern Seas*, ch. XII, p. 394.

if they have made *a single convert* among the Siamese. » (1) We have followed Mr Guztlaff to Siam, and the excursion has not been unprofitable.

The only additional passage which we will quote from Mr Gutzlaff is one which supplies its own comment. « We sincerely hope, » he says, « that henceforth Roman Catholic missionaries may emulate the Protestants in preaching Christ crucified! » Such was the parting counsel of Mr Gutzlaff to the missionaries of the Catholic Church. And yet the man who gave this advice, and bade others imitate his apostolic zeal, actually abandoned, for a more lucrative calling, not only the office, but even the name of a missionary. « For some years before his death, » we are told by Dr Brown, « Mr Gutzlaff had ceased to call himself a missionary. » (2) He found it more profitable to « take the office of interpreter to the English Commission, » says Dr Williams, « at a salary of 800 l. » (3) « He has lost much of his influence as a Christian minister, » says the Rev. Gustavus Hines, « both among the natives and foreigners. Report affirms that he has 15,000 l. deposited in the Bank of Australia, which he has accumulated while employed as a missionary. » (4) But he seems to have fallen still lower. « Mr Gutzlaff is attached to the personal staff of the General as interpreter, » says a British officer of rank, « but is, in fact, under Sir Hugh, head of the police. » And even in this character he

(1) *The Kingdom and People of Siam*, vol. I, ch. XII, pp. 350, 371, 376.

(2) *Hist. Prop. Christianity*, vol. III, p. 371.

(3) *The Middle Kingdom*, vol. II, ch. XIX, p. 341.

(4) *Life on the Plains of the Pacific*, ch. XIII, p. 266.

failed; for the same authority tells us, that on an important occasion, « Gutzlaff's information proved altogether false. » (1) Lastly, having failed as a missionary and a policeman, he tried his hand at medecine, but always with the same result. « The Chinese eagerly sought his prescriptions, » says Mr Downing, « although his skill was of the most moderate character. » (2) Such was the celebrated Protestant missionary who reproached Ricci for not serving the Redeemer, and admonished the Catholic evangelists to « emulate » his zeal for Christ.

Some British official in China has attempted to perpetuate the memory of Mr Gutzlaff, but the attempt displays more irony than reverence. The « Island of Gutzlaff, » near Chusan, we are informed by a recent traveller, « is a barren rock. » (3)

Mr Gutzlaff's friend and companion, the Reverend J. Tomlin, of St-John's College, Cambridge, next claims our attention. As we are relating the history of protestantism in China, we cannot fairly refuse to notice any of its more prominent agents. For this reason we will hear Mr Tomlin.

The missionary career of this Anglican clergyman, who visited innumerable places in the East, but only to abandon them all in turn, is not unworthy of our attention. Batavia first received him; but the climate was trying, and still more the people; so he prepared his baggage, and wrote in his journal, — « The very

(1) *The Last Year in China*, by a Field Officer, Letter XXI, p. 135.

(2) *The Fan Qui in China*, by H. Downing, M. R. C. S., vol. II, ch. VII, p. 175.

(3) *The Times*, August 28, 1860.

name of this place strikes terror into the hearts of most Europeans, so that few missionaries care to be sent hither. » (1) Yet a lay traveller assures us, that « Batavia deserves not, after all, the bad name strangers have commonly given to it. » (2) From Batavia Mr Tomlin wandered to Singapore, thence to Siam, thence to China, thence to travel with Gutzlaff, and finally to India, doing nothing any where, except distributing thousands of bibles and tracts, which nobody read, or could read. Yet to each place he confidently affirms that he was « called by the Lord, » though the call appears only to have enjoined a flying visit, since from each he transferred himself immediately to another. Wherever he went he tells us « the arm of the Lord was revealed; » everywhere also « the Lord is doing wonderful things, » though apparently not wonderful enough to induce him to stay to contemplate them. He was constantly « much refreshed in his labours; » and though he does not even pretend that he ever made a solitary Christian in all his journies, he is able to report, that « the abundant blessing of the Lord rested upon our humble labours in the medical department. » (3)

In Siam he hired a certain Hing, for adequate recompense, to assist in the translations of which he tells us the intelligent sovereign of that country « could make neither head nor tail; » and which, he adds, « were abused and torn by the people, and ridiculed by the priests, on account of their blunders. » « The old man Hing, » he relates, « pleases us

(1) *Missionary Journals and Letters*, ch. II, p. 31, (1844).
(2) Gerstaecker. *Voyage round the world*, vol. III, p. 173.
(3) Ch. VII, p. 180.

much; he has a sound mind and inquisitive spirit, is meek and tractable, approving the truth. » But a little later these encouraging hopes « were much blighted, » he says, for they discovered that their inquisitive disciple wished, in Mr Tomlin's own words, « to make only a partial covenant with the Lord, » and « fell into loose habits, » and was « impatient of the restraints we imposed upon him, especially regarding the Sabbath, » and, when his wages ceased, « at last resolved to leave us. » (1)

Another of these « meek and tractable, » because highly salaried converts, by name Chaou-Bun, after « writing out copies of the whole New Testament, » unfortunately relapsed « into gross darkness, and his spirit broke forth against the truth, and he despised all our sacred books. »

While in Siam Mr Tomlin had « a Sabbath Chinese service, » and the congregation, he says, « numbered from 6 to 8 individuals, who cheerfully attend. » They had reason to be cheerful, for they never received such wages before or since. Bishop Courvezy, Vicar Apostolic of Siam, one of the French missionaries whom Mr Neale visited with so much pleasure, gave this account, in 1838, of the proceedings of the Protestant missionaries at Bangkok. « They print and distribute tracts, but do not make a single proselyte. By distributing medicines they contrive to collect together a certain number on sundays. The way they manage the matter is as follows. All who apply for remedies on the saturday are told they shall have them, if they come at a certain hour on the following

(1) Ch. VII, p. 188.

morning. When they arrive the next day, the ministers have a breakfast ready for them, after which they receive instructions from a catechist *who is still a Pagan*, » — such as Hing, or Chaou Bun, — « they say some prayers, and are then invited to eat again. At length the medecines are distributed, when they who came for them depart, never again perhaps to make their appearance. I have received these details from two Chinese, who once attended the meetings, but have been for the last few months fervent Catholics. » (1)

Another of Mr Tomlin's associates in Siam was « the young prince La Rat, » to whom he presented, as was his custom, « a pocket bible; » a gift which that royal youth did not appreciate, being, as Mr Tomlin records, « occupied with trifles, yet he may, by the Lord's blessing, be impressed with serious things » — an eventuality which Mr Tomlin did not stay long enough to attest.

Mr Tomlin now bade farewell to Siam, and took charge of the Anglo-Chinese College at Malacca; after trying Batavia, Singapore, and a good many other places, and always with the same result. At each change, however, he says; « I was at liberty to enter on *another* missionary enterprise, to which I felt myself called in the Providence of God; » and then he took ship from Malacca and set out for Calcutta. The number of « calls » which Mr Tomlin received was very considerable, and would have bewildered most men, for they seemed to contradict one another and as the various places to which they invited him

(1) *Annals*, vol. I, p. 107.

lay wide apart, he must have consumed a large part of his time in travelling from one to the other; a circumstance which implies the absence of all method and foresight, and obliges us to conclude that « calls » so diverse and eccentric, and always leading to nothing, came from another source than that to which he referred them.

However, he is now in Calcutta, and we may hope has found a resting place at last. But his wanderings were not yet terminated. In Calcutta his children « became sick, » and he resolved to close his agitated career and return to England. The ship in which he embarked caught fire in the Calcutta river, but the passengers were promptly rescued by another vessel, of which « the captain intreated us kindly; » upon which Mr Tomlin and his friends hastened to read « suitable portions of God's word, » and especially « the narrative of Paul's shipwreck in Acts 17th. » And then he had another « call. » « The Lord opened a way for proceeding to Cherrapungi; » and Mr Grey, a fellow missionary, « considered the Lord's dealings with us very remarkable, and thinks I have a very distinct call from Him. » So they set out for Cherrapungi; but not without first reading « second and third chapters of Ezekiel, » because they contained the appropriate words, « Son of man, I send thee to the house of Israël. » But the Hindoos, or house of Israel, dwelling at Cherrapungi, did not retain him long, as a new « call » deprived them of his presence. He staid long enough, however, to ascertain,— and it was the only discovery which he made in India, — that « the great foes to Christ and his gospel are the Pope, Mahomed, and Brahma; » and

that « the Pope's emissaries, » whom he found every where doing the work which he every where abandoned as hopeless, « are coming forth like a cloud of locusts. » (1) So he resolved a second time to quit India, after having « sojourned, » as he observes, « like the Patriarch Jacob, many years in the East; » and having accomplished this final voyage, and reached England in safety, had the satisfaction to know, after so many and various wanderings, that he had at last received a true « call. »

We have now made acquantance with several of the most eminent and energetic « heralds » of Protestantism in China, whose operations had already consumed thirty years, and exhausted vast sums of money, but, as we have seen from their own testimony, without even the smallest effect upon the populations of eastern Asia. Among the teachers there had not been a solitary martyr, among their hearers not a solitary Christian. Let us continue the narrative to the present hour ; and our next witness is an authoritative exponent of the Anglican religion, the « bishop » whom it despatched to recommend its claims to the people of China.

The Rev. George Smith was originally sent to these regions « on behalf of the Church Missionary Society, » and has written an account of all that he saw and did. His book opens with the statement, characteristic of the noble munificence of the English people, that « an anonymous donor gave 6,000 l. for commencing a mission in China. » Alas! that such a gift, and many more like it, should have

(1) Ch. XIV, p. 379.

been fruitlessly squandered, not in promoting the honour of God or the welfare of the heathen, but in supporting such institutions as the Malacca College, or paying the expenses of a Gutzlaff or a Tomlin, or in fees to pretended converts, who worshipped « Jehovah » while it lasted, and Buddha when it was spent. For this has been the only fruit of an expenditure almost unparalleled in the history of missions. The agents of Protestantism have sown, but have not reaped; they have planted, but have not gathered; « the grass is withered, and the flower is fallen, because the spirit of the Lord hath blown upon it. » (1)

The first fact which we will borrow from Mr Smith has reference to the estimate which the Chinese, like other heathen nations, have formed of the English religion. « Perhaps this English doctrine, » they told him, « may be very good, but we wish that you would first try it on the English themselves, for they are wicked men. When this doctrine has made them better, then come and speak to us. » (2) And this statement is more than confirmed, as respects even the teachers of the doctrine, by Mr Sirr, in 1849; by whom we are told, that « to prove the impression produced on the minds of the Chinese heathens by the lives of the missionaries being at variance with their preaching, the common expressions made use of with reference to them are, *Lie-preaching devils.* » (3)

(1) *Isaias*, XL, 7.

(2) *Visit to the Consular Cities of China*, by Revd George Smith, M. A., p. 54.

(3) *China and the Chinese*, by Henry Charles Sirr, M. A., vol. II, ch. x, p. 216.

That preachers who were thus appreciated by the discerning pagans should fail to convert them can hardly surprise us. Some « converts, » however, they made, and Mr Smith will tell us of what sort. At Amoy, he says, « the most regular attendants on the services « — not one of whom, he admits, had even been baptized — « were, from their situation or employment, in some measure dependent on the missionaries, and whose sincerity might on that account be exposed to suspicion. » (1) Yet it was of such unbaptized heathens, attracted only by gifts and bribes, and always ready to desert the moment their wages ceased, that for many years the missionaries were wont to report as follows to the societies at home, who relied chiefly upon such reports to obtain fresh subscriptions. « A signal blessing, » says one, « has attended the work at Amoy. » « Our meetings, « writes another, » continue to be attended with unabated solemnity and interest. » (2) « So mightily, » says the Secretary of the London Missionary Society, in 1857, with intrepid composure, « has the Word of God grown and prevailed! »

As Amoy was formerly represented by Protestant missionary Societies as the solitary exception to their misadventures in China, it may be well to suspend for a moment our narrative, in order to test the fidelity of their reports.

To expose this, and all similar inaccuracies, of which we shall detect a considerable number in the course of these pages, it is only necessary to employ

(1) P. 398.
(2) *China and the Missions at Amoy*, p. 45, (1854).

a little industry of research. Whenever we hear of unwonted missionary successes in any particular spot, we have only to interrogate Protestant travellers who have visited it, and the fiction presently collapses. Here, then, is the candid testimony of men actually resident in China, who were themselves engaged in the work, and only desired to exaggerate its success. The first writes from Amoy itself, and discloses in these words the real character of the operations in which he had taken part. « In the case of most applicants we find much difficulty in deciding whether to receive them or not. » (1) This witness evidently agreed with M^r^ Smith, that the motive of the applicants was exposed to suspicion.

A second authority, also a Protestant minister, but only a visitor in China and therefore perfectly sincere in his report, pleasantly declares of Protestant converts in every heathen land, — he had visited a good many, — « it is much easier to get them converted than it is to keep them so. » (2) But we have a third testimony which is more precise and minute, and which will furnish all the information we desire to obtain. In 1856, D^r^ Ball, an American Protestant, who was not only the intimate associate but the constant guest of the missionaries at Amoy, and who regularly frequented their weekly service, though he does not so much as allude throughout his voluminous correspondence to their gaining even a solitary convert, makes this decisive revelation with respect

(1) *The Chinese Missionary Gleaner*, vol. I, p. 51.
(2) Rev^d^ G. Hines, *Plains of the Pacific*, ch. xv, p. 308.

to Amoy itself, — « the audience numbered about a dozen! » (1) Now as at least one half of this scanty audience were probably Europeans, and the rest the servants or paid « dependents » of the missionaries, we may at length appreciate at its true value the « signal blessing » which had accompanied the Protestant sermons at Amoy, as well as « the unabated solemnity and interest » with which they were heard. And if there be still any shadow of doubt as to the missionary triumphs in Amoy, where Protestantism « grew and prevailed so mightily, » the evidence of the latest protestant writer on China will effectually remove it. « I was informed, » says Mr Oliphant, in 1859, « by a high clerical Protestant authority, that, out of the mass of Protestant converts hitherto made, there were only five whom he really believed to be sincere. » (2) Such, by their own confession, was the result, after so many years of enormous expenditure, of all the Protestant attempts, not in Amoy only, but in the whole Chinese empire : and as the number of the missionaries was *two hundred,* it follows, by the testimony of this « high clerical authority, » unless his estimate was too sanguine, that each of them has succeeded in making one fortieth part of a convert in half a century, — while each of these precarious converts has probably cost England and America at least a quarter of a million sterling.

The same cases which occurred at Amoy, where a few pagan Chinese were willing to attend the Protestant service as long as they were paid for doing

(1) *Rambles in Eastern Asia*, by B. L. Ball, M. D., ch. XXXIX, p. 320, (1856).

(2) *Lord Elgin's Mission*, vol. I, ch. XIII, p. 254.

so, are recorded also at Hong-Kong, and in the other ports which Mr Smith visited. Thus he tells us of one A-tah, who had allowed the American missionaries to give him « an excellent education, » and of course a gratuitous one, but who defrauded them at last of the equivalent upon which they had calculated, in the shape of future service to be rendered to them by their accomplished pupil. « A-tah has recently abandoned the missionaries at Hong-Kong, » says Mr Smith, « and connected himself with the mercantile establishment of Powtinqua, » — a position to which, no doubt, he had long been aspiring, and for which, thanks to his teachers, he was now fully qualified. The Americans might well regret « the difficulty and disappointment, » and desire some better return for all that he had cost them; for of *one* of their establishments we are told, « the annual expenses of the missionaries are eleven thousand dollars. » (1) Nearly twenty years ago, « the American missionaries in China represented no less than six missionary societies; » (2) and « up to 1847, the number sent to China, not including females, was already *one hundred and sixteen.* » (3)

To return to Amoy. We next find Mr Smith in communication with a certain Ban-hea, « a constant visitor of the missionaries, » who, he says, was « an old man, who was formerly inclined to embrace the Roman Catholic religion, but was deterred by fear of persecution. » Ban-hea seems to have understood

(1) *Colonial Church Chronicle*, vol. V, p. 396.

(2) *Journal of American Oriental Society*, vol. I, p. 46.

(3) *Scenes in China*, by Mrs Henrietta Shuck, Missionary in China, p. 246.

that his new friends were not likely to lead him into such peril. Morrison used to say, that if there were no danger, « several of my people would avow their belief in the Gospel, — but they are afraid. » (1) And Mr Lay, an American missionary, considerately excuses their hesitation. « I acknowledge, » he says, « that the subject is often afraid, and no marvel, for who, unless he were animated with the spirit of martyrdom, would not fear the hell of a Chinese prison, or the revolting tortures of a trial? » (2) Yet in this very city of Amoy, where the Protestant missionaries were holding their clandestine meetings, and whispering to their timid visitors and to one another their fears of a prison and a trial, the Catholic Chinese, « animated, » like the primitive Christians, « with the spirit of martyrdom, » were acting as Mr Smith describes in the following words. « The Roman Catholics are numerous in some districts of the neighbouring mainland. The French ambassador and suite, during their recent visit to Amoy, visited a village about forty miles distant, in which nearly the whole population were Roman Catholics.... His Excellency afterwards spoke of his heart being kindled with religious enthusiasm, as he beheld the joyous spectacle of the inhabitants coming forth with crosses and medals hanging on their bosoms. About five hundred persons in this village, and the same number in some neighbouring villages, professed Christianity. » And they professed it openly, without « fear of persecution; » for Mr Smith adds, that

(1) *Memoirs*, vol. II, p. 369.
(2) *The Chinese as they are*, ch. VII, p. 72.

they had nearly completed a chapel, « estimated to cost eighteen hundred dollars. » (1)

Some years after Mr Smith's adventures, the Chinese Christians, in various parts of the empire, were still exhibiting the same instructive contrast which produced so little impression on his mind. The Abbé Huc has given examples, in his latest work, which are sufficiently curious to deserve a moment's attention, especially as they will be found to afford a suitable commentary upon Mr Smith's narrative. At Tching-tou-fou, a capital city, a young man « threw himself on his knees, » before the Abbé, « made the sign of the Cross, and begged his blessing. » « Such an act, » says this celebrated missionary, « in presence of the bonzes, and a crowd of curious witnesses, testified a lively faith and remarkable courage. » « He began to tell me, » continues M. Huc, « without the least restraint, of the numerous Christians in the capital, » and having professed openly his faith, proceded loudly to attack « the idols and superstitions of the bonzes. » (2)

In another city, Tchao and his family behaved with such courage in his presence, « that even the Mandarins congratulated them; » and at the departure of the missionary, crowds of the Christians assembled, to bid him farewell; « all wore their rosaries round their necks, threw themselves on their knees, made the sign of the Cross, and in chorus demanded our blessing. We did not observe that this religious act excited the least movement of hostility

(1) P. 486.
(2) *L'Empire Chinois*, tome I, ch. I, p. 39.

or raillery among the heathen. They maintained a respectful silence, and contented themselves with saying; ' These are the Christians, who are asking the chiefs of their religion to obtain happiness for them from heaven. ' » On another occasion, in the province of Su-tchuen, he saw « a great number of Christians going in procession, *with banners flying*, to celebrate a festival in a neighbouring village. » (1) Such was the conduct of Catholic Chinese, not in the sea-port towns, but in the very heart of the empire.

M^r^ Smith, to whom we must once more return, saw other « visitors » at Amoy, who consorted with his colleagues, but « had not yet shown any decided proof of a charge of heart. » They had « ceased to worship idols, » at least they said so, « but they had not yet generally adopted the decided course of expelling the image from their household. » And accordingly, when M^r^ Smith told a Chinese that one Ta-laou-yay « had put away his idols, » the former « called him an old hypocrite, and asserted, that if we could gain admission into the interior of the house, he doubted not that we should find the idols in some other room. (2) How is it that in all heathen lands, only the vile and the worthless are found to gravitate towards the emissaries of Protestantism, or to hold intercourse with them; while they who are filled with noble and generous thoughts, and willing to manifest them in action, instinctively ally themselves and their destiny with the teachers of the Catholic Faith?

(1) Ch. II, p. 51; ch. VI, p. 270; ch. VII, p. 333.
(2) *Visit*, etc., p. 399; Cf. p. 412.

We have seen that Mr Smith is only able to record the insensibility of the Chinese to the invitations and caresses of Protestantism, except as an occasion of gainful traffic; but he had frequent opportunities of witnessing their appreciation of teachers of another order. Wherever he directed his steps, by land or water, he was met by the unwelcome apparition of Catholic converts. He is at Shanghai, where Dr Ball found, to his great mortification, only « seven or eight Chinese » pensioners on Protestant bounty; though, as Mr Scarth notices, there were missionaries of every sect, « Protestants, Lutherans, Calvinists, Calvinistical Seceders, Baptists, Sabbatarians, etc. » (1) Of this city, Mr Smith says, — « In the city and neighbourhood there are large numbers of Roman Catholic professors of Christianity. The diocese of their Bishop is computed to contain about *sixty thousand Roman Catholics.* » If he amuses his leisure by enquiries into the system of transporting grain in China, he learns that « of the 6,000 junks which annually bring down the grain for the emperor from Tartary, many are manned by Roman Catholic sailors. » But the grace of conversion had not been confined to men who, like the first apostles, had passed their lives on the water; and who, as Monseigneur de Bésy, apostolic administrator of Nankin, relates, in 1843, — « direct their boats hither and thither, wherever they hope to meet a minister of the true God. They often assemble in the evening, to the number of twenty barks, in the middle of the river, and sing in choir their pray-

(1) *Twelve years in China*, ch. VIII, p. 80.

ers, which always conclude with an invocation to ' Mary conceived without sin. ' Their prayers must ascend as an agreeable incense to the throne of the Lamb. » At Ningpo, the Catholic converts, Mr Smith tells us, were not fishermen, but « principally belonged to the middle class of tradesmen. » (1) In this city, we are informed by Sir John Davis, « there are no less than thirteen Protestant missionaries; » (2) and though the majority of the inhabitants are barely conscious of their presence, except as dispensers of medecine, such was the progress of the Catholic religion, that « the year 1848 witnessed the erection of church without difficulty in the centre of the town of Ningpo, the Mandarins themselves granting the ground for the building. » (3)

A little later Mr Smith is in the province of Fokien, in the northern part of which, « at the distance of one hundred miles from Foo-Chow, there is a Popish Bishop, a Spaniard, ninety years of age, who has been fifty years in the country. There is also a Popish college; *and the Romish converts are said to be more numerous than the Pagan inhabitants* in some of these districts, so that they are too powerful to become the victims of persecution. » (4)

In reading this narrative by such a writer, we are reminded of the forcible remark of the Abbé Faivre, one of the Lazarist missionaries in China. « Protestant missions, » he observes, « will not have been

(1) P. 244.

(2) *China since the Peace*, by Sir J. Davis, vol. II, ch. VII, p. 255.

(3) *Annals*, vol. XI, p. 15.

(4) P. 352.

altogether without result in these countries : for, in the first place, they will have proved their own complete sterility; and, in the next, the Protestant missionaries will be forced to render this testimony, that, wherever they have been, they have seen the Catholic religion established, the faithful full of fervour, and the ranks of the missionaries continually recruited. » (1)

Sometimes Mr Smith comes into actual contact with Chinese Christians, and he is always careful to record his impression of such interviews. He is in a boat on the river Min, and the crew, who probably knew nothing of the character of their passenger, « on their first coming on board, crossed themselves repeatedly on the forehead, cheeks, and breast, after the most approved Roman Catholic fashion. » Their religion was evidently a reality, and they were « not ashamed of the Cross of Christ; » but this was not the reflection which their Christian behaviour excited in Mr Smith. Presently he meets « about a hundred villagers, and finding that they were principally professors of the Roman Catholic religion, » one of his party took the opportunity of informing them, that the Mother of God « was *only* a sinful mortal like ourselves ! » upon which he adds, « they appeared to be somewhat staggered, and looked in his face as if incredulous and distrustful. » Yet that significant look had no lesson for Mr Smith and his companions, who were perhaps ignorant that the very Turks reproach Protestants for their irreverence towards Her whom even

(1) *Annals*, vol. I, p. 321.

Mahometans honour as the Mother of Christ. (1)

But Mr Smith had other adventures not less instructive than this. « I visited a Corean junk, » he says, « manned by Roman Catholic sailors, and lying in the river off the custom-house. » The captain of this junk — which had crossed the broad waters of the Yellow sea, not for lucre, but from a motive of religion — had lost « his own father and grandfather » by martyrdom. But this had not daunted him, nor his Christian crew; and Mr Smith tells us that « their only object in making so long and perilous a voyage was, to obtain a Bishop for Corea, whom they would carry back in their junk. » For months they had been at anchor alongside that custom-house, answering the inquisitive demands of the officials with such pretexts as their ingenuity could devise, and patiently waiting, at the sacrifice of time, and braving the perils of discovery, till God should bring their Bishop to them. To these fearless Christians, Mr Smith, unmindful that he stood in presence of a company of confessors with whom religion was the chief concern of life, presented a number of his books; but within an hour they had detected their real nature, and came « to return the whole of the books, and to decline the present from me. » It is satisfactory to know, on Mr Smith's authority, that at last « they accomplished the object of their visit, and took back a Bishop and three priests. The Bishop had already been seven years a missionary in one of the interior provinces : » (2) —

(1) See D'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque Orientale*, art. *Miriam;* and Lady Shiel's *Life and Manners in Persia*, ch. VI, p. 87.

(2) P. 154.

and now he was on his way, escorted by the children of martyrs, to shed his own blood whenever God should require the sacrifice. To him it does not appear that Mr Smith ventured to offer any books.

But his stock was not yet exhausted, and he was not easily discouraged. To a Buddhist priest, he says. « I gave a tract, which he was unable to read, and which I received again. » Others retained his presents, but « not one of them, » he says, « could read, » which must have diminished their value. And then he crossed the stream and « landed on the south side of the river, but found none of the villagers able to read. I ascertained, however, that there were some Roman Catholics who were able to read. » So he sent them some of his tracts.

Thus far he had clung to the coast, like all his brethren, and scattered tracts as he went; but accustomed now to see Chinese faces, he gathers courage, and boldly determines upon « a trip into the interior. » It is true that what he calls going to the interior was simply an excursion of a few miles in a boat, on a river not unknown to Europeans, and that it required no greater temerity than a Frenchman would display who should venture in a steamer from London Bridge to Richmond. Of course the object of the journey was to distribute tracts, which the people could not read, and which his own friends have told us were not worth reading if they could. The expedition starts, not without a quickening of the pulse at the possible perils of the voyage. Both shores are carefully scanned, and the rowers duly prepared for a backward move in case of sudden emergencies. Mr Smith directs his anxious glance on every side,

book in hand, when at length an object strikes his eye. « Watching my opportunity, » he says, — and we almost share his emotion, — « I folded up the book, and.... threw it safely *on the dry bank.* » (1) This daring feat accomplished, the bold missionary and his companions, smiling perhaps at their own courage, hurried back to the neighbouring town.

This was Mr Smith's plan for the conversion of China. It was not successful, perhaps because it was so entirely new. Neither St. Paul nor St. Barnabas, so far as we know, were much given to the distribution of tracts, nor did they spend their days in rowing along the shores of the OEgean or the Adriatic, looking for « dry banks » on which to deposit their message to the heathen. *They* delivered it themselves, heeding neither stripes, nor imprisonment, nor death, but rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer for Christ's sake; a mode of preaching the Gospel which Catholic missionaries have always imitated, not in China alone, but, as we shall see hereafter, in every region of the earth.

We might now, not unwillingly, turn from Mr Smith to other witnesses, who claim at least a moment's attention, but that he has re-appeared, in a new form, on the scenes which we have just visited. In 1858 we hear of him again, and this time not as the agent of a missionary society, but as an Anglican bishop in China. The lapse of years has not much altered his views on either of the subjects which he had previously handled — the Chinese, or the Catholics. He has not begun to

(1) P. 148.

convert the one, nor ceased to hate the other. Long years before, he had declared, that he preferred even the Mahometans of China to the Catholics. « I always felt a sympathy, » he said, « with the poor dispersed disciples of Islam in this pagan wild, and regarded their denunciation of idols, and their worship of one God, as a comparative approximation to *our own religion* » (1) — the comparison being with the religion of Alfred the Great, St. Anselm, and Sir Thomas More. Dr Smith prefers the disciples of Ali and Omar, who blaspheme Christ, to the children of St. Francis and St. Bernard, who adore Him. And he is the same in 1858 as he was in 1844.

On the 18th of October, of the former year, he wrote from Shanghae to « the Archbishop of Canterbury. » « I confess, » he said, « that I have gathered lessons of moderate expectation from the fruitlessness of my past appeals for help. In the tenth year of my Episcopate I behold but few signs of any great and sustained movement of our Church for the evangelization of the Chinese race..... As to Missions of our Church among the Chinese, after fourteen years since my first landing on these shores, I still see (with one exception) » — we have seen what the exception was worth — « but little progress made and but inconsiderable results achieved. » There is much more in the letter, which we need not quote, because it was thus appreciated on the spot by a Protestant writer, in the *Hong-Kong Register*. » (2) We cannot but regret the tone of jealousy with regard to his Roman Catholic brethren

(1) P. 213.
(2) *Number* 43.

that pervades his letter. It is not by indications of a sectarian spirit such as this, that the cause of true religion and Christianity is to be advanced in China.... Their zeal is equal, their self-devotion in many instances *far* greater, and yet, because they do not agree with the Bishop of Victoria, or own his spiritual jurisdiction, they are to be looked on as dangerous foes! Writing such as this is not only unfair, but it is dangerous. »

We have now perhaps sufficient knowledge of the fortunes of Protestantism in China, as revealed by its most conspicuous agents, from 1816 to 1860; and if we still multiply evidence which may seem superfluous, it is because each fresh witness attests some special feature of the contrast which all detect and proclaim. Some record with involuntary admiration the continual progress of the Catholic missionaries, their fortitude and self-denial, and the fervour of their flocks; others, in spite of their religious sympathies, speak with contempt or indignation of their Protestant contemporaries, and disclose without hesitation the true character of their followers. Let us hear a few witnesses of both classes, before we pass to the same order of facts in other lands.

In 1858, M^r^ Minturn, an ardent American Protestant, was struck by « the earnestness with which a numerous congregation of Chinese chanted the responses in the Romish Cathedral at Shanghai; » (1) while M^r^ D'Ewes, almost at the same date, and M^r^ Oliphant a little later, thus contrasted the two classes of missionaries, and their works, in the same

(1) *From New York to Delhi*, ch. III, p. 33.

city. « There is, » says Mr D'Ewes, « both an American and English school for the education of Chinese children, but, I hear, not very well attended, nor could I discover *any traces* of Protestant missionary labour in the interior. » And then he continues thus. « By far the most extraordinary establishments I saw at Shanghai, were two Jesuit Colleges . . . Nothing can exceed the order and regularity, and apparent harmony, with which these extensive establishments are carried on. » The Fathers taught, he adds, « sculpture, painting, music, languages, etc., and evidently by able and distinguished masters. When it is considered how extremely difficult it is to obtain even a smattering of the Chinese language, and how very few Europeans amongst the commercial class, and even amongst our own missionaries and diplomatists, arrive at any thing like proficiency, the self-denying hard labour and study of these priests is truly wonderful. The pupils appeared happy, and proud of their occupations, and far more intelligent than the generality of Chinese we met with. » (1)

On the other hand, Mr Oliphant says of the Protestant schools in the same place, « the children are taught only the most rudimentary works in their own classics. Their education seems likely, therefore, to be of little service to them, either amongst their own countrymen or foreigners. » (2)

But if Mr Oliphant, who has apparently no sympathy with Catholics, agrees with Mr D'Ewes in his estimate of these Protestant institutions, he thus de-

(1) *China*, etc., by J. D'Ewes esq., ch. VIII, p. 291.
(2) *Lord Elgin's Mission.*

scribes another Catholic College, about twelve miles from the city of Shanghai, where he found « eighty young men and boys in the several schoolrooms, deep in the study of the classics and polite learning of the Chinese . . . The mission was almost entirely conducted by Jesuits. The best possible understanding evidently subsisted between them and their pupils, whose countenances all bore evidence of happiness and contentment. Notwithstanding the fact that twelve hours out of the twenty-four were devoted to work or religious exercises, the establishment was kept scrupulously clean : the dormitories were models of neatness; so that habits foreign to the Chinese domestic character were being instilled into the innates. » (1)

The Marquis de Moges, who accompanied the Baron Gros in his first embassy to China, visited the same College, — at Zi-ka-wei, — and found « nearly one hundred pupils, » in an institution « far from all European aid, » but which, he says, was often visited by Mandarins, one of whom « forwarded to Pekin, to a member of the Imperial Academy, the compositions of some of the elder scholars, which were returned with corrections and most encouraging remarks. » (2) M. de Kéroulée also, at a still later period, speaks of meeting a pupil of the Père Delamarre, who, in addition to the French language, spoke Latin with a precision and fluency which excited the admiration of men educated in the colleges of France. (3)

(1) *Lord Elgin's Mission.*

(2) *Souvenirs d'une Ambassade*, ch. VII, p. 180.

(3) *Un voyage à Pékin*, par Georges de Kéroulée ; ch. III, p. 39. (Paris, 1861.)

Mr Oliphant's experience seems to have been every where of the same character. He goes to the Catholic mission at Chusan, and there a Lazarist Father « did the honours of the establishment with great simplicity and cordiality. We inspected his industrial farm, cultivated by the boys of the school, a clean chubby-looking set of little fellows, with happy smiling countenances, very different in expression from that of Chinese youth generally. They evidently regarded their spiritual masters with feelings of affection and gratitude . . . We afterwards visited, with our reverend guide, a girls' hospital in the town, which did equal credit to his management with the rest of his establishment. »

At another time he goes to the « Cathedral at Tonk-a doo. » « Here one side of the spacious area was filled by a large attendance of Chinese female converts, whose devout demeanour testified to their sincerity, and whose neat, and occasionally handsome costume, and pleasing countenances, formed an agreeable contrast to the majority of the fair sex the stranger meets in a Chinese town. »

At Shanghai, he says, « I was informed that the Roman Catholic missions can boast of converts even among the Mandarins; while numerous instances of devotion, and acts of private charity to the missionaries and their converts, were related, both on the part of those Chinese who were members of the Church, and of those who had merely benefited by its institutions. » On the other hand, speaking of the results of *Protestant* education, especially at Hong-Kong, — and we shall find the same characteristic fact in every other country of the world, — he ob-

serves, « in too many instances the knowledge they have acquired *only serves to increase their evil influence.* » (1)

Let us hear other witnesses. The evidence of Colonel Armine Mountain, formerly Adjutant General of the Forces in India, and an eager advocate of Protestant institutions, though cautiously mutilated by a sensitive editor, is only rendered more impressive and significant by that unusual process. « Of the English missionaries, » he says, « I know nothing; » and then he added a statement which his biographer has carefully suppressed, but the substance of which we may easily infer from the words which follow immediately in the next sentence of his letter. « *But* there is a class of men in China to whom, however mistaken in their belief, we cannot refuse respect, — the Roman Catholic missionaries, — men who, in the guise of natives, live in the interior, unknown to the government, in hourly danger of their lives, subsisting upon the precarious contributions of their followers. » (2)

Mr Power, a gentleman in the British service, traces in 1853, in expressive words, the same contrast. He is at Koo-Lung-Soo, — where the Anglican missionaries, as we shall be informed presently, had only *two* converts, who displayed their piety by « running off with the communion plate, » — and he writes as follows. « The worthy fathers Zea and Aguilar were both quite young men, but in devotion to their duty, in true Christian charity, benevolence,

(1) *Narrative of Lord Elgin's Mission to China and Japan*, vol. I, ch. XII, p. 236; ch. XIII, p. 257.

(2) *Memoirs of Colonel Armine Mountain*, C. B., ch. VIII, p. 212.

and strong religious faith, they appeared to me to surpass any men I ever met with, they were so forgetful of self, and so full of pity and compassion for others. » And then he describes the Protestant missionaries. « *They* are not of a character generally to have much success. They settle themselves down *at the ports*, surround themselves with comforts, and confine their labours to the distribution of boxes full of tracts, written generally in very bad Chinese. The Chinaman sees one man devoting all his energies to the one purpose, and that an unselfish one; sacrificing comfort, health, society, all that can make life desirable; the other comes when he can do so with perfect safety, bringing a wife and family, squabbling for the best houses, higgling for wares, and provoking contempt by a lazy life. » (1)

It might seem impossible to add any thing to such a picture, yet another Protestant, a member of an English University, has contrived to do so. « When in China, » says Mr Sirr, « we are grieved to our heart's core to see the servants of the Romish Church indefatigably and zealously working, making converts of the Chinese, regarding neither difficulties non discouragement; whilst too many Protestant missionaries occupy their time in secular pursuits, trading, and trafficking. » This, he observes, is particularly odious, because they have all « ample salaries, » and he goes on thus. « Alas! the lives of many missionaries, whom we have seen in China, and elsewhere, are totally foreign to and at variance with their sacred calling, much of their time being passed in attending

(1) *Residence in China*, ch. xv, pp. 151, 7. (1853).

auctions, buying at one price, and transferring their purchase to a native at an advanced rate, although they receive a handsome allowance, more than sufficient for their support... The conduct of many missionaries is most unbecoming, whether considered in a Christian or social view; » and then he adds, from his own observation, that even the pagan Chinese, filled with contempt for such pretended teachers of religion, commonly call them « *Lie-preaching Devils.* » (1) Never, probably, were so-called « missionaries » thus described by their own associates; and if « the first herald » of Protestantism in China had but a feeble claim to our esteem, it must be admitted that his numerous successors have still less.

We shall see, before we conclude this chapter, that the evidence has been by no means exhausted; but it may be well to show at once, as we did in reviewing the Catholic missions, what have been the *final* and admitted results, by exclusively Protestant testimony, of all the costly efforts maintained during nearly half a century, by the agents of English and American societies.

« The number of conversions effected by the Protestants, » says Mr Hausmann, who dedicates his book to Mr Guizot, and seems to profess an equal indifference to all forms of religion, « is perfectly insignificant when compared with those effected by the Catholics. » (2)

« The religion of the Catholics, » says baron Von

(1) *China and the Chinese*, vol, II, ch. x, p. 216.
(2) *Voyage en Chine*, tome I, ch. III, p. 129.

Haxthausen, « extends itself more and more in the north of the empire, and even in Pekin itself their number is said to exceed forty thousand. » (1)

Mr Montgomery Martin, a warm opponent of the Catholic religion, observes, « Perhaps there are not more than twenty or thirty Christian Protestant Chinese, while Catholicism numbers its tens and hundreds of thousands. » (2)

« Great progress has been silently made, » says Sir Oscar Oliphant, in 1857, — though he does not so much as allude to the Protestant attempts, — « and continues to be so made, in the missionary field. » (3)

« It is superfluous, » writes Mr Osmund Tiffany, with reference to his Protestant companions, « to say ought of missionary labours, *simply because they have little or no importance.* » (4)

The American traveller, Dr Ball, who spent all his time among the missionaries, and was their constant guest and confidential friend, though he eloquently describes their « commodious and very well furnished houses, » never so much as alludes, throughout the whole of his ample correspondence, to their making a solitary convert.

« There is something inexplicable, » says the Rev. Howard Malcolm, « in the sterility of the Protestant missions; for the Catholic missionaries, with very limited resources, have made a great many proselytes, their worship has become popular and

(1) *Études sur la Russie*, tome I, ch. XIV, p. 441.
(2) *China Political*, etc., vol. II, p. 491.
(3) *China, a popular history*, ch. V, p. 45.
(4) *The Canton Chinese*, ch. X, p. 181.

Such are the acknowledged fruits of all the enormous expenses incurred by Protestant missionary societies in China during this century, and impartial witnesses will now inform us, that there is exactly the same difference in the quality as in the number of the converts made respectively by their representatives, and by those of the Catholic Church. What the latter are, we have seen, and not even the annals of the Primitive Church surpass those of the nineteenth century in China, Corea, and Annam. The Catholics, of all ranks, as Dr Williams angrily confesses, « have exhibited the greatest fidelity, even at the risk of death; » while even the most trusted of the nominal Protestant converts have proved so irreclaimable, that the Rev. Theodore Hamberg, one of their teachers, admits, that, « on account of the perfidious character of some of his Chinese attendants, or catechists, he was obliged to dismiss several of them. » (1) « Some of us, » says another Protestant missionary, « have experienced serious embarrassments from having the best teachers we can procure stupefied and disabled by the influence of opium » (2) — for which Mr Medhurst used to allow his disciple Chin « eight to ten dollars per month. » « Two *assistants* of the Missionary, Mr Roberts, » we learn from Mr Hamberg, in 1855, « fearing that Siu-tsuen, with his superior talents, would after baptism be employed by Mr Roberts, and that they themselves would lose their position, planned how they might get rid of him, *and prevent his being baptized*, and in this they

(1) *The Chinese Rebel Chief, Hung-Siu-Tsuen*, Introd. p. 6, (1855).

(2) *Asiatic Journal*, New Series, vol. XXXII, p. 329.

succeeded. » (1) Such were even the « catechists » and « assistants » employed by the Protestant missionaries, who, in spite of this accurate knowledge of their real character, continued to employ them. Such was their estimate of the value of Christian baptism, and such its effects upon themselves, that they were only solicitous to prevent others from sharing in them.

The rank and file of their converts were not *more* worthless, — how could they be? — but here is a specimen of them. Mr Forbes, who notices with admiration that « there are more than forty thousand Catholics » in the apostolic vicariate of Fu-kien, adds; « I wish I could say as much for the success of the Church of England mission, but at Koo-lung-su, where I was for upwards of a year, the only *two* Protestant converts that I could hear of were suspected of running off with the communion plate. » (2)

Even their scholars, over whom they had so many opportunities of acquiring supreme influence, and who were glad to learn English though at the cost of a weekly sermon, emulated the irregularities of the « converts. » Dr Ball reports, in 1856, that at Ningpo, for the facts were every where uniform, « some Chinese boys in the school have been pawning their clothing, and taken away some money. Investigations are being made by some of the missionary teachers. » This gentleman adds that their practice of « learning English in the schools of the missionaries, » with no other object but « to turn it afterwards to their own

(1) P. 48.
(2) *Five Years in China*, ch. XI, p, 184.

advantage for trading purposes, in the Chinese character seems to me natural. » (1)

The contrast of which these are examples, and the incorrigible immorality of the few Protestant converts, and of their profligate « catechists, » are so perpetually affirmed and illustrated by writers of all classes, that the advocates of Protestant missions, far from attempting to refute their evidence, found upon it such argumentation as the following. « To object to first converts, because they are less perfect than Christians who have higher privileges, discovers great ignorance of human nature; » (2) a plea which is perhaps still more curious, — considering that they have been half a century at work, and that the « first converts » both of the Apostles and of later Catholic missionaries have been saints and martyrs, — than the unwelcome phenomenon which it attempts to explain.

But even the testimonies already cited do not disclose every feature of the contrast which we are tracing. We have seen how protestant writers speak of their own missionaries as a class; sometimes they even name individuals, and compare them, one by one, with the catholic teachers, whom they happen to have met, as Mr Power met Fathers Zea and Aguilar, and of whom they speak as he did. Commander Elliot Bingham tells us, in 1842, that his frigate was visited by a French Catholic missionary, who had just come out of a Chinese prison, where he had

(1) *Rambles in Eastern Asia*, ch. XXXVI, p. 301; ch. XXXVIII, p. 317.

(2) *Missionary Records of the Religious Tract Society*, ch. II, p. 20.

been « nearly starved. » « He came on board, » says this officer, « without apparently feeling the least pleasure at his release. He had failed in his object, *but would try it again.* » (1)

Mr Fonblanque, writing from the interior of China in 1861, and addressing his cautious confessions to the Times newspaper, reluctantly attests, that « the self devotion, the zeal, and, as a very general rule, the pure and simple lives led by the French missionaries in China, are not without their effect upon the people; » and he adds, that even the pagans openly manifested reverence towards them. (2)

Mr Scarth relates in 1860 that he visited « a village where a worthy Catholic missionary resided. He had about 200 converts. His house was just like the other cottages in the village, — all the villagers being of a poor class. Poor man! he had just got out of prison, *yet had returned to his flock.* He seemed to be much respected, but was too delicate-looking for his task. He was about to proceed some thirty miles off to visit a sick man. His intelligence had at once given him an ascendancy among the poor ignorant villagers; and he seemed bent on doing good. It is a pity that all missionaries are not equally self-sacrificing. » And then he apologises for the very different life of his own friends by adding, « but it is hard to call upon intelligent men to tear themselves from civilized European habits, to plunge into poverty and obscurity in a Chinese village. » (3)

The *Singapore Free Press*, of April 13, 1843, says

(1) *Narrative of the Expedition to China*, vol. II, ch. III, p. 101.
(2) *The Times*, June 17, 1861.
(3) *Twelve Years in China*, ch. VI, p. 61.

of the missionaries in Cochin China, that the heathen themselves were so astonished at their quiet submission to the most cruel tortures, which they could have escaped by a word or a sign, that they used to say to one another, « These foreigners probably possess some charm to deaden pain. » (1) Perhaps their fathers said the same thing of St. John when he came out of the boiling caldron, of St. Paul when he was scourged, of St. Peter when he was crucified.

Let us hear other examples, but all of recent date. M^r^ Forbes met a missionary, not a European, like the priest whom Commander Bingham received, but a native of Corea. He was « of noble birth and by profession a Roman Catholic priest. His father, grand father, and great grandfather had all died for that religion. » He was returning to his own country, the land of martyrs, « on foot, a distance of at least fourteen hundred miles. » He had already tasted persecution, for « more than once he had witnessed a partial massacre of his own flock, and had himself been hunted down by dogs. » And now this descendant of a race of martyrs was going calmly to face all this again. Yet he was one who might have taken his fill of social pleasures, if he had been so minded; for the English officers « found him a clever, agreeable, well-informed man, with a fund of anecdotes, and a very good manner, » — and he spoke six languages. (2) Perhaps he was a friend of that other Corean of whom Morrison said, « He offers himself up to God. »

(1) *Chinese Repository*, vol. XII, p. 539.
(2) *Five Years in China*, p. 190.

Mr Forbes, who is a British officer, gives also, like Mr Sirr, Mr Power, and others, individual examples of Protestant missionaries. He meets a « Church of England clergyman, » who refused even « to attend the military hospitals to administer the consolations of religion to the sick, » though he was paid for that object. When the regimental surgeon rebuked him, he answered, « Soldiers and sailors are so very bad, it is of no use, I never like to go near them. » So the military authorities hired « an American missionary, who undertook the cure of souls of an English regiment, at a salary of 250 l. per annum, paid weekly. » He is called, in his turn, to visit a dying English soldier, but only went « as far as the foot of the staircase, » and hearing that it was a case of *delirium tremens*, « turned upon his heel, and went his way. » But there was, adds Mr Forbes, a missionary of another class there. « Father Barrentin was in the hospital at the time, and though his stipend is only ninety dollars per annum — less than 18 l. — yet upon that he lives, and declines all offers of further payment. » There was still mercy in store for the dying Englishman, « at whose request, communicated to him through the hospital attendant, the good Father administered to him the last offices of the Roman Catholic Church, in communion with which, I heed hardly say, the poor man died. » (1)

The Rev. Gustavus Hines, an American Protestant minister, was so much impressed by the same class of facts during his stay in China, that he was tempted

(1) P. 186.

to express his astonishment that some of the Episcopalian Chaplains at Hong-Kong, « after spending Sunday evening in card-playing and wine-drinking, will enter the sacred desk » — not, as he intimates, with much advantage to their hearers. (1) Yet we may be sure that these clergymen, indeed they will tell us so presently, share the repugnance of their bishop, Dr Smith, towards the doctrine and the missionaries of the Catholic Church.

Mr Walter Gibson, also an American Protestant, expressed, in 1856, the unfavorable impression which he too had formed, from actual observation, of the same class of agents. « The Chinese, Hindus, Malays, and other people of the East, » he says, « may become wiser, stronger, and happier, when missionaries of the Gospel shall go forth among them more zealous and unencumbered, and less as *mere stipendiary agents of a company.* » (2) And this appears to be the almost universal sentiment of independant Protestants, who have actually watched their proceedings in China. « I was born a Protestant, » said one of the interpreters to the British plenipotentiary in China to the Vicar Apostolic of Nankin, « but I cannot refrain from admiring the heroism, the devotedness, and the superiority of the Catholic missionaries in China. » (3) Mr Wingrove Cooke also appears to sum up his estimate of their unsuccessful rivals, when he says, « Ignorant declaimers in bad Chinese have no success in China; » and an English journalist of high character concludes from such re-

(1) *Plains of the Pacific*, ch. XIV, p. 270.
(2) *The East Indian Archipelago*, p. 134.
(3) Quoted in *Annals*, vol. V, p. 328.

velations as are found in that gentleman's well known work, not only that « as a body the Protestant missionaries appear to command less respect than is paid to their Roman Catholic rivals, » but that « they adopt the low tone of morality that is prevalent among those whom they seek to convert, and thus bring humiliation upon their order. » (1)

A curious illustration, and it shall be the last, of the feelings with which the English residents in China regard the mortifying contrast which they so candidly attest, is contained in a fact which is sufficiently remarkable to deserve notice. There are at this moment eight Chinese children in England,— the writer has seen and conversed with four of them, — the offspring of four English Protestant merchants and of as many pagan Chinese women. Of these children, six are in convents in England, and the other two under the guardianship of Catholics; and their fathers have desired that they may be brought up in the Catholic Faith, towards which they already display earnest and intelligent attachment, solely in consequence of the respect which they have conceived for Catholic missionaries, and the disgust which they entertain for those of another class.

Here we may fitly close the evidence, exclusively Protestant as the reader will observe, to this particular feature of the contrast which we shall hereafter trace in every region of the earth. Never since Christianity was first promulgated, were professors of reli-

(1) *Manchester Guardian*, quoted in the *Times*, September, 25, 1858.

gion so described, or so appreciated, by their own friends and associates, except only the same class of missionaries in all the other countries of the world which we have still to visit.

But if the Protestant missionaries have failed to attract either the respect of the pagan or the sympathy of their co-religionists; if they have endured the mortification of seeing the first embrace in tens of thousands the Catholic Faith, and of hearing the last avow their admiration of those who preached it to them; they have at least attempted, after their own manner, to avenge their defeat. If they could not make converts themselves, they could defame the disciples of others; if they dared not imitate the heroism of their rivals, they could sneer at it, like Dr Smith and his clergy, and attribute it to unworthy motives. It was in this way, therefore, that they revenged themselves.

We have seen already that Mr Gutzlaff, whose own labours were more profitable to himself than to the Chinese, could venture to say, that « the Catholic missionaries converted thousands without touching the heart. » Dr Wells Williams, one of his successors, is still more emphatic, and assures his readers, that the Catholic converts, who shed their blood in every province of the empire for the name of Jesus, « can hardly be considered as much better than baptized pagans. » (1) This, he adds, must be our judgment of them, « until the confessional be abolished, and the worship of the Virgin. » The Rev. William Gillespie, another Protestant missionary, explains to

(1) *The Middle Kingdom*, vol. II, ch. XIX, p. 324.

his own satisfaction the conversion of hundreds of thousands of Chinese, at the peril of goods, liberty, and life, by observing, that « in becoming Papists *they give up nothing;* » — (1) a remark which he may perhaps have borrowed from a Dutch Protestant, who suggested that the constancy of the Japanese martyrs under all their torments was « to be attributed to the firmness of the national character! (2) « Mr Montgomery Martin, with almost as little respect for the intelligence of his readers, informs us, that if the Protestant missionaries have failed, it is only because « they will not adopt secret and stealthy means to promote Christianity. » (3) Mr Peter Auber agrees with him, and deplores that « the means which the Catholic missionaries took to propagate their faith were not open and direct, but covert and disguised. » (4) If he had visited Corea himself, or Cochin China, or even Nankin, he would perhaps have called upon the Mandarins to announce his arrival. Mr Samuel Kidd, afterwards Professor of Chinese at the London University, informs the world, that the Catholic success in China « was gained by pandering to human passions and lusts! » (5) This gentleman has since passed to the other world. The Rev. Joseph Edkins, another missionary in China, expresses the « painful reflections » with which, at the College described by Mr Oliphant, Mr D'Ewes, and

(1) *The Land of Sinim*, ch. IV, p. 132.

(2) Montanus, ap. Charlevoix, *Histoire du Japon*, tome V, liv. XIII, p. 367.

(3) Vol. II, p. 491.

(4) *China*, by Peter Auber, ch. II, p. 47.

(5) *China*, section VII, p. 393.

others, he saw some of the pupils, who were taught sculpture, « forming images of Joseph and Mary, and other Scripture personages. » If they had been fashioning a Venus or a Bacchus, he would have applauded their praiseworthy skill, but he was indignant that they should be like « the idol makers in the neighbouring towns, moulding Buddhas and gods of war and riches, destined to be honoured in much the same manner. » (1) Mr Edkins also laments, no doubt with sincerity, « the worldly policy of the Jesuits » — that is, of Ricci, and Schall, and Verbiest! Even English Protestants, who were never seen in China, repeat the same language. « The conversions were *easy*, » we are gravely told, in a paper published by a well known English Society, because the converts only « accepted the Romish rosary for that which the Buddhists used. » And this account of an army of martyrs and confessors was solemnly read before the « Royal Geographical Society of England! » (2) Lastly, for we cannot quote them all, another English association, — alluding to the baptism of outcast and dying children, flung into what Barrow truly calls « the horrible pit of destruction at which Roman Catholic missionaries attend by turns as a part of the duties of their office, » (3) — denounces this charitable and perilous administration of the sacrament without which « a man cannot enter into the kingdom of God, » (4) as

(1) *The Religious Condition of the Chinese.*

(2) *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, vol. XIX, p. 129.

(3) *Travels in China*, ch. IV, p. 168.

(4) John, III, 5.

« an infamous and clumsy fraud upon the poor Chinese. » (1)

Surely only this was wanting to add a still more inexpiable discredit to the proceedings of men, who could attempt thus to cloak their own mortification, by reviling apostles whom they had not courage to imitate, and scoffing at works which they had not faith to attempt.

That there are individuals among the Protestant missionaries in China who would repudiate the language which has now been quoted, and refuse to repeat it, we may easily believe. They may be as unsuccessful as an Edkins or a Gillespie in converting the heathen, but they have too much integrity, too much self-respect, to employ the phraseology of such writers. But these few, men of honour and of kindly dispositions, are overwhelmed by the multitude of mercenaries, of various sects, who are now assembled in the sea-ports of China. Thirteen years ago, the American missionaries alone already amounted to one hundred and sixteen, « not including females. » How many there are of other classes, we may partly infer from the list of societies, each of which had its agents and representatives in China more than twenty years ago.

1. The London Missionary Society.
2. The Church Missionary Society.
3. The General Baptist Society.
4. The Presbyterian Free Church Society.
5. The Methodist Society.
6. The Chinese Evangelisation Society.

(1) *Evangelical Christendom*, vol. I, p. 184.

7. The Rhenish Evangelisation Society.
8. The German Evangelisation Society.
9. The Swedish Evangelisation Society.
10. The Berlin Evangelisation Society.
11. The American Board of Foreign Missions.
12. The American Baptist Missions.
13. The American Presbyterian Missions.
14. The American Episcopal Missions.
15. The American Methodist Missions.
16. The American Southern Baptist Missions.
17. The American Seventh Day Baptist Missions. (1)

Such is Protestantism, prolific at least in sects, if in nothing else. And the list just cited has probably received ample additions since that date. The effect of this *colluvies* of sects has been just what we might have anticipated. In China, as in every other pagan land visited by Protestant missionaries, it has simply confirmed the heathen in their own errors, and in a mingled hatred and contempt for Christianity. They are Protestant witnesses who record this fact.

« It is to be regretted, » said Lord Elgin in 1858, in a despatch to Lord Clarendon, « that the existence of profound divisions among ourselves should be one of the first truths which we Christians reveal to the heathen whom we desire to convert; » and the statement is the more remarkable, because it appears to have been suggested by « an address presented to him by the missionaries at Shanghai. » (2)

« There is no greater barrier, » says Mr Colledge,

(1) Dr Brown's, *Hist. Prop. Christianity*, vol. III, p. 370.
(2) Scarth, ch. XXIV, p. 267.

a British official in China, « to the spread of the gospel of our Saviour among the heathen than the division and splitting which have taken place among the various orders of Christians themselves. Let us ask any intelligent Chinese what he thinks of this, and he will tell us, that these persons cannot be influenced by the same great principle; but that *Europe and America must have as many Christs as China has gods.* » (1)

« There is a great and fatal error to be avoided, » says another English writer, who had examined the same facts, « and that is, the rivalry of religious sects among each other, and the attempt to gain followers at the expense of each others tenets. » (2) We shall see hereafter the same rivalry of Protestant sects in every region of the earth, and every where with the same result — the angry scorn of the pagans for a religion which cannot even unite its own followers in one body.

One advantage, however, has resulted to the Chinese even from the multiplicity of Protestant sects; for as each is unceasingly striving to surpass every other, and possesses almost unlimited pecuniary resources for the furtherance of its designs, hospitals conducted by European methods have been established in several of the sea-ports. The Americans have even formed a special class of missionaries, professors of medecine, having the title of « reverend, » and aiming to acquire influence over the souls of the Chinese through their bodies. The plan is an excellent

(1) *Suggestions with regard to employing Medical Practitioners as Missionaries to China*, p. 33.

(2) Bernard's *Services of the Nemesis*.

one, though it has completely failed as a missionary project. Mr Malcolm frankly confesses that « a sense of *failure* in regard to direct evangelical labours renders popular the sending out of physicians; » some of whom, we learn from a competent authority, « do incalculable mischief by their imperfect knowledge of the healing art. » (1) The Hospital Reports of the Medical Missionary Society in China show that thousands of the natives have profited by the medical skill of the English and Americans, and are loud in praises of it; yet they cannot touch their conscience! and the whole mass which they have held, as it were, in their grasp, slips away from them, admiring their drugs and their surgery, but utterly indifferent to their religion.

There is yet one more fact, in illustration of the failures of Protestantism in China, which claims a brief notice, before we pass to other lands. The number of the missionaries is legion, but not one tenth of them can even speak the language, however imperfectly. Timkowski, who was sent to Pekin by the Russian government a few years before Morrison went to Canton, confesses, that « the Russian students at Pekin never made themselves thoroughly acquainted with the real meaning of Chinese words. » (2) The Russians, in spite of their political advantages, have never so much as attempted to convert the Chinese, and their superior at Pekin confessed to Father Ripa, « that he only baptized

(1) *Medical Missionary Society in China*, p. 6. See also *The Campaign in China*, by Captain Granville Locke.

(2) Timkowski's *Travels*, vol. II, ch. I, p. 27.

Russians; » (1) so that Gutzlaff remarks, perhaps with unconscious irony, that « the government has never upbraided *them* on account of their proselyting zeal. » And the Protestants, resembling these sterile sectaries in their exile from unity, resemble them also, not indeed in their lethargy, but in their ignorance of the Chinese dialects.

The Rev. David Abeel observes, that « those missionaries who have not been toiling for years at the language are not qualified » for their office. Hence they commonly pay unbaptized Chinese to do their work; and Dr Smith mentions one who was employed « to read a tract, after previous preparation and instruction by a missionary at his own house, » but who, in spite of this tuition, « hazarded comments of his own, which were of a rather equivocal tendency. » (2) If Protestant missionaries are content to employ such doubtful auxiliaries, a usage common to them in all heathen countries, the singular practice is partly explained by the fact, noticed by Dr Berncastle, that « plenty of men may be obtained who, for about five pence a day, would read and speak of the Gospel, just as they would read or speak of the writings of Confucius. » (3) Such assistant missionaries, however, appear to earn their modest wages by compromising with « equivocal comments » the very religion which they are paid to teach, though they neither believe it themselves, nor wish to make others believe it.

It was the actual experience of these facts which

(1) Ripa's *Residence at the Court of Pekin*, ch. XVI.
(2) *Visit to the Consular Cities of China*, p. 416.
(3) *A Voyage to China*, by Dr Berncastle, vol. II, p. 281.

made Mr Malcolm exclaim, « It is a great mercy that China should be shut at present. Were it otherwise, Protestants are without persons to send; while Popish priests abound in the East, and would instantly enter in great numbers, making the field worse for us, if possible, than now. » Yet half a century might surely have sufficed to overcome the difficulties of the study, if encountered in a spirit of religious zeal and charity. They are no doubt great, as Colonel Cunynhame observes, « except to a man with indomitable spirit and determination. » (1) Yet the Catholic missionaries are able to hear confessions in Chinese at the end of one year, or at the most two. « The Holy Ghost, » says one of their number, « is the great Teacher of languages. » Even Mr Edkins, speaking of the « French Sisters of Mercy » at Ningpo, expresses his surprise that *they* « did not employ native schoolmasters or schoolmistresses » in their schools, as the Protestants do, but taught them themselves, and « proved their competence » by reading Chinese books in his presence. (2)

On the other hand, the Protestant missionaries remain far the most part so ignorant of the language, that, although there were about two hundred of them in China, it was found impossible even to obtain an interpreter for the public service; while Baron Gros and General Montauban had only to apply to the superior of the French missions, and their demand was immediately satisfied. (3) « The want was very

(1) *Recollections of Service in China*, by Colonel Arthur Cunynhame, ch. xv, p. 208.

(2) *The Religious Condition of the Chinese*, ch. xii, p. 238.

(3) *Un Voyage à Pékin*, par Georges de Kéroulée, ch. iv, p. 55.

much felt, » we are told, by the officers of the British expedition, who « repeatedly applied for some one to be sent up in that capacity. » (1) In 1851, Lord Jocelyn suggested, no doubt with some reluctance, that « the members of the Roman Catholic Institution at Macao would easily be induced to furnish, at all times, a certain number of interpreters for the use of Governement. » (2) And this, it appears, would be nothing new. « It was from Father Ripa's foundation that Lord Macartney obtained two interpreters for his embassy. » Yet Dr Smith is supposed to have founded a college to supply this very defect, of which Mr Wingrove Cooke asks, in 1858, « Where are the *interpreters* who were to be supplied by the Bishop's College, an institution that has I believe for some years received 250 l. annually for this purpose? It has never yet turned out one Chinese scholar! » (3)

It appears, then, that the Protestant missionaries in China, after fifty years of what Mr Scarth calls « weary and almost unprofitable labour, » have no immediate prospect of happier results. As late as 1854, the Abbé Huc, who had spoken the Chinese language for years, found that one of their latest literary productions was such a hopeless « jargon, » that he could only say of it, « I am convinced that in the whole empire there is not one Chinese capable of understanding a single page of this book. » (4) Their own friends indulge in amicable jests, as they

(1) *Services of the Nemesis*, ch. XIX, p. 194.
(2) *Six Months in China*, ch. VI, p. 145.
(3) *China*, ch. XXVII, p. 359.
(4) *L'Empire Chinois*, t. II, ch. X, p. 432.

note their discomfiture, and tell them playfully, as the Rev^d M^r Malan does, not to « delude themselves » with the expectation that the people of China, « sharp, intelligent, sceptical, and often very learned men, will, as a matter of course, bow to a few scattered emissaries of a more florid complexion. » (1) And M^r Tradescant Lay, who had tried the experiment, warns them that they labour under considerable disadvantages, of various kinds; and bids them ponder the disagreeable fact, that when « a clerical friend » of his replied to a polite interrogation of a courteous shopkeeper that he was « a priest, » — « A priest, said the Chinaman, and yet married! » (2) D^r Smith also has found that the cares of a family tend to impede missionary ardour, and invokes, without much expectation of success, a new race of « unencumbered » ministers. Long before his time, D^r Morrison found it necessary to write to England, to recommend « a committee to attend to the petty wants of young missionaries. » Before him, again, the great model of all missionaries had left this warning to his successors; « No man being a soldier of God entangleth himself with secular business. » (3) But it is Catholics alone, as Sir John Davis remarks, in speaking of China, who « are unencumbered with the *impedimenta* of wives and families of children, and without a moment's distraction from the one pursuit. » In other words,

(1) *Who is God in China, Shin or Shank-Te?* by Rev^d S. C. Malan, p. 176.

(2) *The Chinese as they are*, ch. IX, p. 100.

(3) II Tim., II, 4.

Almighty God still gives to them alone, of all mankind, the same apostolic graces which He conferred, during eighteen centuries, upon all their predecessors; still enables them, and them only, to accept the counsel of St. Paul, that they should be « without a wife, » so as « to attend upon the Lord without impediment. » (1)

We have now almost completed, perhaps with excessive detail, our review of Protestant missions in China. One point only remains to be noticed, and then we may proceed to trace the same history in other lands.

Great events have occurred in China since Sanz was scourged to death, and Borie calmly encouraged his unskilful executioners to strike more firmly at his head. A new era has been inaugurated, by the arms of England and France, in this distant land. The cross has been reared once more on the summit of the Catholic cathedral of Pekin, and the fifth article in the French treaty of 1860 stipulates for « the restitution of all lands and buildings which formerly belonged to the Catholic Church, throughout the whole empire of China. » (2) The age of persecution is over. As far as China Proper is concerned, its last page has been written, its last victim buried, or cast into the sea, or consumed in the flames. The same thing will perhaps soon be true of Corea, Tong-king, and the whole kingdom of Annam. « Persecution is no longer to be feared, » cries a Protestant missionary, and in this unwonted security he dis-

(1) I Cor., VII, 35.
(2) De Kéroulée, ch. X, p. 196.

although not wholly ignorant, even at that period, of the true nature of this horrible sect. « Behold what God hath wrought! » (1) said the Rev. Mr Roberts, the spiritual instructor of the rebel chief; though he also was at least so far cognisant of the real character of the insurrection as to be able to report, though without any misgiving on that account, that some of these ferocious neophytes « baptized themselves. » Two Anglican bishops in succession, Hobson and Smith, gave their countenance to the movement. The former write, in 1853, to the « Archbishop of Canterbury, » « There is a strong guarantee for the Christian sincerity of the leaders among the rebels; » (2) and added, with evident satisfaction, « The rebel chiefs profess to believe in Protestant Christianity. » The latter, when the missionary Hamberg published the blasphemous « visions » of Hung-Siu-Tsuen, attached « a high degree of probability to them! » (3)

It is true that there was one motive for suspicion, but it only confirmed these Anglican prelates in their good opinion of the rebels. Dr Hobson told his correspondent in England that « it is strange that these rebels do not seem to have any intercourse with the Romanists » — but this was a note in their favour. Mr Hamberg, their biographer, knew also, that the wretched versions of the Scriptures which they had received from Gutzlaff and others were so inaccurate that, as he confesses, they « made many mistakes as to the meaning, » and that Siu-Tsuen, interpreted various passages to refer to himself,

(1) *Missionary Gleaner*, February 1853, p. 69.
(2) Macfarlane's *Chinese Revolution*, pp. 118, 122.
(3) *The Chinese Rebel Chief*, Introd., p. 6.

and enforced the interpretation upon his followers. Mr Hamberg knew moreover, that in administering a sort of baptism, which was a mere symbol of the rebellion, they used « two burning lamps and three cups of tea; » and that, instead of the sacramental words, they said in these orgies, « Purification from all former sins, putting off the old, and regeneration. » He knew this, and much more; and yet desired, like Hobson, and Roberts, and Gillespie, and the rest, that Protestantism should make alliance with them for the chance of ulterior gains. At length, after « urging these ruffians to go forth and kill, » as Mr Wingrove Cooke observes, the indignant reproaches of their own countrymen forced the missionaries to break their compact with a rebellion which their own teachings had originated, and to confess its intolerable wickedness. « I am ashamed, » said Mr Lay, who had witnessed these proceedings, « that any who bear the name of Christians should be the abettors of evil men and evil things, especially in a heathen country. » But such protests were for a long period ineffectual. « The missionaries *still* hang their hopes upon this rebel cause, » says Mr Cooke, even in 1858. And two years later, Mr Edkins was once more arguing in defence of these savage allies, and protesting against what he called « an indiscriminate condemnation » of them « for mistaking the nature of Christianity in some points. » And now let us see what was the nature of the Christianity which Protestant teaching had created, and with which Protestant missionaries wished to make a treaty of alliance.

« There is no reason to suppose, » says Mr Oxen-

ford, « that the insurgents are otherwise than orthodox Confucians. » (1) But even this was a character which they were far from deserving. « Time was, » said the leading journal of Great Britain, on the 3rd of January, 1859, « when the English sympathies were directed by our missionaries into something like favour for these ruffians. They lived, indeed, by rapine and plunder, and died like locusts when there was no more left to destroy; they quenched indiscriminately all human life, ' even ' as they boasted, ' to the children at the breast, ' and they made it sufficiently manifest that their only object was plunder. But they had established a hideous and revolting burlesque of Christianity, and the missionaries would fondly hope that their intention was to establish a real Christianity and that when the leaders assumed the names of the Three Persons of the Trinity, it was only an ignorance they would be glad to correct. This hope is now extinct in all sane minds. Eight years have gone by, and no Christian missionary has been invited or even tolerated among them. Every part of China is now open to missionary labour, *except only the devastated cities where these robbers find refuge.* »

A little later, the same journal, — after declaring, on the authority of a correspondent from Shanghai, that « they are polygamists and opium smokers, » and that « they do not possess even a superficial knowledge of the tenets of Christianity, much less of its practice, » — continues thus. « We have now

(1) *History of the Insurrection in China*, by MM. Callery and Yvan, supplementary chapter, p. 312.

some reliable description of the working of that rebellion which had found so much favour in former times among the missionaries, who hang upon the skirts of the Chinese population, and listen to far-off tidings of what is happening in the interior. »

The language and the sympathies of the Protestant missionaries, whose real character the great journalist thus scornfully attests, were now to be finally rebuked by men of their own religion. « Is there nothing to hope, » asks Sir John Bowring, in 1860, » from the Tae-ping movement? Nothing. It has become little better than dacoity. Its progress has everywhere been marked by wreck and ruin; it destroys cities, but builds none; consumes wealth, and produces none; supersedes one despotism by another more crushing and grievous; subverts a rude religion by the introduction of another full of the vilest frauds and the boldest blasphemies. » (1) « We found the rebels, » says Mr Laurence Oliphant, almost at the same date, « making war like Jews, living like the worst description of professing Christians, and believing like — Chinamen! » (2) « Their idea of God, » says the Rev. Mr Holmes, a candid American missionary, who visited them towards the close of 1860 and found them practising « the most revolting idolatry, » « is distorted until it is *inferior*, if possible, to that entertained by the Chinese idolaters. » (3) « They do nothing, » adds an English traveller in 1861, « but burn, murder, and destroy; they

(1) *The Cornhill Magazine*, January 1860.
(2) *Lord Elgin's Mission*, vol. II, ch. xx, p. 463.
(3) *The World*, New-York journal, December 28, 1860.

hardly profess anything beyond that. » (1) It is « a reign of hideous ruin and unutterable desolation, » says another eye-witness at a still later date, while its « so-called religious character can only be regarded as the most monstrous blasphemy the world has ever witnessed. » He even adds that the missionaries themselves, though the statement is only true of some of their number, « have given up all hope of it, shocked, no doubt, by its hideous desecration of every name and idea we are taught to revere. » (2)

Finally, that we may see the real influence of Protestantism in China appreciated by its own professors, and its complicity with this frightful manifestation of a system professedly derived from the Protestant Bible, and « essentially Protestant in its principles, in its origin, development, and tendency, » distinctly affirmed, let us note the following explicit declarations. « We see in this movement, » says Mr Edkins, still rejoicing in the evils which he and his colleagues had assisted to create, « *the effect of the distribution of Bibles and Christian tracts.* » (3) « This Tae-ping revolution, » adds a writer in the China Mail, of the 24th of February, 1859, « is the result of foreign intercourse with China; this blasphemous manifesto » — forwarded by the rebels to Lord Elgin — « *is a result of Christianity preached to its people.* Truly we cannot pride ourselves over such results! »

And this is all, as its own advocates confess, which Protestantism has accomplished in China. It

(1) *The Times*, May 15, 1861.
(2) *Ibid.* August 2, 1861.
(3) Ch. xv, p. 278.

could not convert the Chinese, but it could create the Tae-ping code of religion and morals. After fifty years of costly but sterile effort, it has been willing to redeem its failures even by an alliance with Siu-Tsuen and his sanguinary crew. This is the conclusion of labours in which two hundred men — English, German, and American — have been actively engaged, with unlimited resources, during half a century; and it is in the following remarkable words that the final issue of their work is appreciated even by the men who most warmly desired its success, and were most solicitous to conceal its failure. « All past missionary experience, » says a grave correspondent of the *Times*, who dates from Canton, on the 12th of May, 1859, « goes far to enforce the unwelcome truth, that the abstract doctrines of a Protestant faith find acceptance among a heathen and idolatrous race with infinitely greater difficulty than Romanism. There stands the fact. » « There is a wide field, » says one of the most influential of American journalists in 1861, after carefully reviewing the latest reports of the Protestant missionaries, « for the exercise of missionary labour in China; but we are disposed to believe that the fruits of that labour will be reaped by the Romish, and not by the Protestant Church. » It was the consideration of the relations of Protestantism with the Tae-ping rebels, and their admitted results, which compelled this reluctant admission, and forced the same writer to confess, with almost astonishing candour, that only the Catholic missionary can now repair the evils which the Protestant agents have created, or exorcise the unclean spirit with whom *they* have made a treaty of alliance.

« Although the religion of the Tae-ping, » he says, « may be considered half Christian, it will, we think, only be developed and perfected under the benevolent auspices of the Church of Rome. » (1)

And now we have heard enough. We have traced, in all its details, the contrast which the Chinese Missions exhibit in their agents, their method, and their results. During three centuries we have seen the missionaries of the Catholic Church — in freedom or in chains, in the palace of the emperor or the obscurity of a dungeon, in the dignity of their lives and the heroism of their death, — everywhere confessing Him by whose grace they became what they were. And we have seen that the spiritual children whom they begot, in every province of that empire, from the deserts of Tartary to the gulf of Siam, were worthy of them. The annals of Christianity tell of no braver deeds, the records of its combats contain no nobler triumphs. St. Peter would have embraced such apostles as his brethren; St. Paul would have said to such disciples, « You are our glory and our joy. » (2)

On the other hand, we have seen the missionaries of another religion crowded together in the sea-ports of China, « listening to far-off tidings of what is happening in the interior; » but we have not once met them in Su-tchuen, nor in Corea, nor in Tong-King, nor in Mongolia, nor in Tartary, nor in Thibet. They have consumed fifty years, and untold sums of money, in safely multiplying books which nobody could either read or understand; they have scandal-

(1) *New-York Herald*, February 17, 1861.
(2) Thess. II, 20.

ised the very heathen, as well as their own friends, by the manner of their life, so that the former called them « Lie-preaching Devils, » and the latter only named them with a jest or a sneer; they have gathered a few disciples whom they hesitated to receive, and were ashamed to acknowledge, — who took their wages without thanks, and plundered them without remorse; they have published reports, which they privately confessed to be false, of conversions which never took place; and they have only succeeded at last in confirming more deeply in their errors the heathen to whom they have made Christianity both hateful and ludicrous, and in obstructing the apostolic labours of men whom they reviled without knowing, and whose heroism they grudgingly confessed without once daring to imitate it. During two whole generations they have watched the brave press forward to the battle-field, but have themselves refused to take part in the fight. They had no vocation to this apostolic warfare, and they knew it. « These actions, » they seem to have said, « belong not to such as us. » And so when blood began to flow, and the moment arrived for confessing the Name of Jesus, they turned their heads and fled away. And while the furnace was being heated, « seven times more than it was wont to be heated, » and the valiant « walked in the midst of the flame, praising God and blessing the Lord; » and even women and children, but yesterday pagans, were crying aloud in the midst of their torments, « Let them know that Thou art the Lord, the only God, » (1) — these men hast-

(1) Daniel, III, 24, 45.

ened to their homes, to hide themselves in an inner room, and to write words of malice against the faith which the martyrs were sealing with their blood, and against the apostles who had delivered it to them.

The reader has now sufficient evidence before him upon which to exercise his judicial function, and may at length apply, if so minded, the divine rule, *By their fruits ye shall know them.*

CHAPTER III.

MISSIONS IN INDIA.

PART I.

CATHOLIC MISSIONS.

Many voices have rebuked England's misrule in India, but none so loudly as those of her own sons. « Were we to be driven out of India this day, » said one of her most illustrious statesmen, « nothing would remain to tell that it had been possessed, during the inglorious period of our dominion, by any thing better than the ourang-outang or the tiger. » (1) And long years after, in 1858, a writer devoted to her interests could still say, « At the door of England's covetousness, self-seeking, and heartlessness, lies the guilt of Indian heathenism. » (2)

(1) Burke, *Speech on M^r Fox's East India Bill*, Works, vol. IV, p. 41.

(2) *British India*, by John Malcolm Ludlow, vol. II, p. 367.

The history of England's domination in India, as even they whose hearts yearn towards her have confessed, is mainly a record of covetousness and unbelief. « The depth of English irreligion in India, » says a partial student of its history, « is surely quite awful. » (1) A thousand writers have flung the same reproach at her, and often in language which makes the ears tingle. But if we cannot reject the testimony of her own people, we may at least disclaim all sympathy with those alien accusers who impute to her offences of which she is innocent, or only guilty in part. In the eyes of such men her crime is, not that she governs India ill, but that she governs it at all. This is what they cannot forgive her. It is not true, as her enemies falsely proclaim, that she has made no effort to convert the tribes of Hindostan; but it is true that she made them too late, and after a fashion which did not merit, and could not receive, the benediction of God. For long years, as we shall learn presently, she left them to their idols; bade her own sons pay honour to the demons of the land; recruited her treasury, — the only Christian nation which ever did so, — by a tax on idol worship; and rivalled even the votaries of Mahomet and Ganesa in lubricity and intemperance. Then she sent a few adventurers, hired for wages among the sects of Denmark and Sweden, — for her own sons, as we shall hear, refused to bear the message, — to preach what they called « the gospel » to men who were scarcely more ignorant than themselves of the sacred learning of the apostles, and the mysteries of

(1) *British India*, by John Malcolm Ludlow, vol. II, p. 243.

the spiritual life. After more than a hundred years had been fully reckoned, better and truer men, acting as they were led by their conscience, and only despising the Church's aid because they knew her not, began, one by one, to enter this paradise of devils. To exorcise such a legion as they presently encountered was beyond their power; and so they fled away, like Martyn, scared and cowed, for the devils laughed them to scorn. But their history shall be recounted, in their own words, in its proper place. Meanwhile, let us speak of others, who were before them in time, above them in gifts and graces as far as heaven is above earth, and who left them an example which they knew not how to imitate.

That St. Thomas preached the Gospel in India, and that he failed to make any solid or permanent impression on the mass of its inhabitants, are truths which hardly admit of denial. The first is attested by various and abundant evidence, the whole history of India proves the last. There is enough in the traditions which still survive in Southern India to show, that an Apostle has passed that way; there is unhappily more than enough to demonstrate that an aftergrowth of weeds has overspread and defaced his path. He was one of the Twelve, therefore men fear to say that his mission was a failure; if they were judging one of his successors, they would say it without hesitation. No doubt he did all that God willed him to do; yet we find ourselves resisting a feeling of surprise that he did no more.

It is true that some Protestant writers of little reputation have denied that St. Thomas visited India, as others have asserted, with equal confidence, that

St. Peter was never at Rome. One of the most learned of orientalists replies to them as follows. « That St. Thomas was the Apostle of the Indies, is attested by *all* ecclesiastical records, Greek, Latin, and Syriac. » (1) Even Baldœus acknowledges, « It is the *general* opinion that the apostle St. Thomas did come into the Indies. » (2) Bernoulli also attests the universal tradition, and relates how, in course of time, the converts of the Apostle « retournèrent à leur ancienne idolatrie. » (3) Our own Alfred sent presents to his tomb. (4)

Between St. Thomas and St. Francis Xavier there is an interval of more than fourteen hundred years. Whatever was attempted or accomplished during that long period towards the conversion of India has been recorded, as far as their knowledge permitted, by men who made this portion of history their special study. The subject, however, lies beyond the limits of our immediate enquiry. We have a sufficiently wide field to survey, and little temptation to stray beyond it. All that we are concerned to investigate happened between the middle of the sixteenth century and the present hour. To the religious history of India during this period, or at least to an outline of its more prominent incidents, let us now direct our attention.

On the 6th of May, 1542, after a voyage of thirteen months, St. Francis landed at Goa. It was in such words as the following that St. Ignatius had

(1) Asseman. *Dissert. de Syris Nestorianis*, t. IV, p. 439.
(2) In Churchill's *Collection of Voyages*, vol. III, p. 573.
(3) *Description de l'Inde*, t. I, p. 41.
(4) Henrion, t. I, ch. IV, p. 69.

announced to him his election to the difficult and glorious mission for which others had been originally destined, but which it was the will of God to confide to Xavier. « By higher counsels than those of our short-sighted judgment, Francis, for we cannot penetrate the designs of God, you, and not Bobadilla, are destined to the mission of the Indies. Thus, what we have so earnestly desired, what we so long waited for in vain at Venice, this passage across the seas into barbarous countries, now, contrary to all hope, presents itself to you here in Rome. It is not a single province of Palestine, which we were seeking, that God gives you, but the Indies, a whole world of people and nations. This is the soil which He entrusts to your cultivation, this is the field which He opens to your labours. » (1)

It is difficult to speak fitly of such an one as St. Francis. When we attempt to do so, we are rebuked at the outset by the admonition of one who, though fully qualified, declined a similar task, saying, « Let a Saint write about a Saint. » Yet if we adhere with simplicity to the narrative of his biographers, our unworthiness may pass unperceived, and we may effect our purpose without immodesty or presumption.

The life of Xavier, if he had been the only Christian of his form and stature since the last of the Apostles died, would suffice to prove the truth of God and of the Catholic Church. None but God could have created, none but the Church could have used, such an instrument. The world and the sects

(1) *Life of St Francis Xavier*, by Bartoli and Maffei; Oratorian edition, 1858.

confess, with mingled anger and fear, that he is not of them. Doctor, prophet, and apostle, what gift which one of our race can receive or use was denied to this man? Whilst he was in the world few understood, perhaps none fully, what he really was. It was only by the solemn juridical process which preceded his canonization, and in which evidence was adduced on oath such as would have more than satisfied the most jealous and exacting tribunal which ever sifted human testimony, that some of the facts of his stupendous career were revealed to his fellow creatures. To converse at the same moment with men of various nations and dialects, so that each thought he heard him speak his own tongue; to satisfy by one reply subtle and opposite questions, so that each confessed he had received the solution of his own difficulty in the words which answered every other; to heal the sick, to raise the dead, to bid the waves be still, so that the very gentiles called him in their rude language « *the God of nature;* » such were some of the gifts of this great apostle. Yet this was not his real greatness. It was his humility, charity, spotless virtue, and intimate union with God, which marked him as a saint. To work miracles was no necessary part of his character or office. Yet this lower gift was also added, for the advantage of others, to those which had already made him the friend and disciple of Jesus.

To such as possess the gift of faith, by which alone divine things are apprehended, the life of Xavier is as a book written by the hand of God, yet without a single mystery. It is intelligible even to a child. Admiration it may excite, love, joy, and gra-

titude — every thing but surprise. The Church has begotten since her espousals with Christ a thousand such. If she could cease to produce Saints, she would cease to be. But that hour will only arrive when the number is full, and her work ended.

To all others St. Francis is, of course, « a stone of offence. » They dare not deny his virtues, but they are peevish and irritated at the mention of his miracles. Why spoil the fair narrative of his life with these idle fables? Such deeds take him out of their cognizance, and affront their good sense; so they affect to defend him from the injudicious language of his friends. He was a good and devoted man, but let us hear nothing of maladies healed, and graves opened. We are in the nineteenth century. Miracles were tolerable in the first ages; but these are now a long way off, and so is God. He must not be brought too near to us. He is in heaven, and we on earth; why seek to diminish the distance between us? True, He promised that His servants should do such things, and they did them : it cannot be denied, at least not openly, since it is written in the Scriptures. Even the « shadow » of an apostle falling on the sick is said to have dispelled their infirmities; and though it is a hard saying, and takes no account of the « laws of nature, » and is directly reproved by modern science, it must be believed, whatever effort it may cost. But surely there is enough of such things in the Bible. Why add to them? Why should our Lord create apostles now? They are dead and buried, and have left no successors : it is irrational to pretend to revive them. They have really no place in such a world as this, least of all in our busy and

sensible England. Such tales may meet with success in other climes, but are rebuked by the robust good sense of Britons, and shrink before their manly scrutiny to the puny dimensions of fable. And so they cut the life of St. Francis in two, accept that which is natural, and fling away that which is supernatural. His virtues they pardon, not without a struggle, but they can go no further. Like Pilate, they fear to condemn, but cannot resolve to acquit.

But they have a special motive for denying his supernatural powers, and they do not conceal it. They are so far, indeed, from understanding the character of a Saint, that they do not even believe in the existence of one. Why should the Almighty have made any thing higher than themselves? « A good man, » as they speak, who is of a benevolent mind, gives alms, says his prayers, and reads the Scriptures, — this is the loftiest type of humanity which they are able to conceive. All beyond this is visionary and chimerical. Such a man as St. Francis is as wholly unknown to them as he is to the inanimate creatures, — the unshapen rocks, the rushing waters, and the waving trees. But they perfectly comprehend that if they admit his miracles, they must confess his doctrine. And so an Englishman of good repute, and more them average intelligence, says of the first apostles of India; « The accounts of their extraordinary success cannot be credited, without admitting, on the same authority, the miracles of St. Francis Xavier and others, by which it is said to have been promoted. » (1) This is equally true of those earlier

(1) Lord Valentia's *Travels*, vol. I, ch. v, p. 204.

apostles who witnessed the Transfiguration; but happily our countrymen are inconsistent, and their reverence for the Bible, though too often a mere superstition, preserves them from excesses into which more logical minds have fallen.

That St. Francis Xavier had the gift of miracles, is as certain as anything which depends upon human testimony, and the evidence of the senses. It appears to be confessed even by some Protestant writers. (1) By his power with God was accomplished, again and again, that which St. Paul relates of others, by whose faith, he says, « women received their dead raised to life again. » One whom he raised from the dead; — Francis Ciavos, — afterwards entered the Society of Jesus. (2) But it is with his ordinary work as an apostle, which in truth was the greatest of his miracles, that we are especially concerned. What he did in India and Japan there is no need to relate at large, for who is ignorant of it? He did what man never did, or could do, except by the indwelling might of God. « He preached with such vehemence of soul as might be expected in a man filled with the Spirit of God, and accustomed to the light of eternal truths; a man whose life added such weight to his

(1) « He released those who were possessed by the devil, and, in several instances, raised the dead. Hence he obtained the name of the *Great Father;* but he is said not to have been at all elated by the authority he exercised, or the celebrity he acquired. » *History of Ceylon*, by Philalethes A. M. Oxon. 1817; ch. xxxv, p. 225. « My pen, » says the Calvinist Baldœus, « is not capable of expressing the worth of so great a man. » Churchill, vol. III, p. 545.

(2) Henrion, t. I, 2de partie, liv. II, p. 481

words, that even when silent, the mere sight of him was sufficient to touch the sinner's heart. » And the traces of his work, in spite of woes and misfortunes which shall be recounted hereafter, and which might have sufficed utterly to uproot the tender vine which he had planted, still remain. When a Protestant minister tried, in later times, to seduce the people who had long lost their apostolic guides, and were driven to wander like sheep without a shepherd, they had still faith enough to reply to his new doctrine; « When you can raise people from the dead, as St. Francis Xavier did *in this very place*, we will give you an answer. » (1) And even the unconverted pagans, more than two centuries after his death, still venerated him after their gross and carnal fashion; for, as La Croze bitterly observes. — « There is near Cape Comorin an old idol of St. Francis Xavier to which the heathen themselves make pilgrimages. They call it the Pagoda of Parapadri, i. e. *of the Great Father*. » (2)

St. Francis has described, in many places, his method of preaching and instruction. As far as words can exhibit that which passes words, it was simple enough. It was always by the Creed and the Commandments, — that which was to be *believed*, and that which was to be *done*, — that he commenced; and these he expounded with extradinary care, repeating his lessons, wherever circumstances allowed, « twice a day for a whole month. » « It is impossible, » writes the saint, « to describe the ad-

(1) *Lettres Édifiantes*, tome X, p. 118.

(2) *Histoirë du Christianisme des Indes*, tome II, livre 4, p. 31.

miration of the Gentiles, as well as the new Christians, for our holy law, which they declare to be perfectly in conformity with the law of nature and right reason. What I chiefly insist upon, and most frequently repeat, are the Creed and the Commandments. » And we know what abundant fruits followed his persuasive teaching, so that his biographers say, — « It would be difficult to give an idea of the harvest of souls, or of the works worthy of an infant Church in its first fervour, which here attended our holy apostle. He himself, in a letter to St. Ignatius, owns that he has not words to describe them; but says, that frequently the multitudes who flocked to him for baptism were so numerous, that he was unable to go on raising his arm to make the sign of the cross in the administration of the sacrament; and that his voice literally became extinct, from the incessant repetition of the Creed, the Commandments, and a certain brief admonition of the duties of the Christian life, the bliss of heaven, the pains of hell, and what good or evil deeds lead to the one or the other. » (1)

And amidst his great labours, taking barely nourishment sufficient to support life, and finding repose at night chiefly in prayer and meditation, so that he was continually seen rapt in extasy by those who watched him in his private hours, he received those « abundant consolations » of which St. Paul speaks, and with which he seems to have been favoured above many of the Saints. « Often have I heard a person, » he writes to St. Ignatius, as if speaking of another, « labouring amongst these christians falteringly ex-

(1) *Life*, p. 73.

claim; O Lord, give me not such great comfort in this life; or if, in the excess of Thine infinite goodness and mercy, Thou wilt thus favour me, call me to Thy heavenly glory, for it is too great a torment to live any longer without seeing Thee. »

A few words will suffice about the actual results of his labours. « When the Saint entered the kingdom of Travancore, he found it entirely idolatrous, but when he left it, after a few months residence, it was entirely christian. » Along the coast « he founded no fewer than forty-five churches. » And as the labours of the first apostles were « confirmed by signs following, » so innumerable miracles attested the continual presence of the Holy Ghost with this man of God. Even children, armed with some object which had touched his person, his cross or his rosary, were able to cast out devils and heal the sick, and were often employed by him for such purposes, when his own occupations left him no leisure to accept the invitations which pressed upon him from all parts. At Malacca, a mother whose child had been three days in the grave came to him in faith, and desired that the lost one might be restored; for, said she, « God grants all things to your prayers. » « Go, » he replied, « and open the tomb, you will find her alive. » And thereupon, in presence of a vast concourse of spectators who had assembled to witness the miracle, for his power was known, « the stone was removed, the grave opened, and the young girl was found alive. » (1)

In the island of Moro, « he converted the whole city

(1) *Life*, p. 140.

of Tolo, containing twenty-five thousand souls, and left at his death no fewer than twenty-nine towns, villages, and hamlets, added to the kingdom of Christ, and subject to His law. » By the year 1548, more than two hundred thousand christians might be numbered « along the two coasts starting from Cape Comorin; and they afterwards gave full evidence of their virtue by the courage with which they encountered the persecutions raised against them by the Gentiles; when, far from denying their faith, all, even mere children, readily presented their necks to the executioners. »

But we need not pursue further the details of his history. Since the days of St. Paul no greater missionary, perhaps, has appeared on earth. Like St. Paul, too, he prevailed, because he was firmly knit to Peter, and to his Holy See. It was in the might of her blessing that he went forth, and without it he would have been only a visionary and a fanatic, — perhaps an heresiarch, — at best a brilliant but unprofitable rhetorician. After an apostolate of ten years and seven months, on the 2rd of December, 1552, he was united to God, and the faithful throughout the world gained a new advocate and protector. In his last moments, while he uttered fervent aspirations to the Most Holy Trinity, his pure lips also invoked one to whom he owed so much, and to whom he ceased not to say with his latest breath, what he had so often said during the toils of his life, — *Monstra Te esse Matrem*, — *Show Thyself a Mother!*

That St. Francis was a man taught of God, and full of the Holy Ghost, — that he was most dear to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, — that the Catholic Faith

which he believed and delivered to others was the true and perfect revelation of the Most High, — and that in the regions which he evangelised he did an apostle's work and obtained an apostle's reward; these are truths which none would even have doubted, unless ignorance had blinded their judgment, or sin obscured it, or pride and passion had supplied a motive for denying what the gentiles themselves, less blind and perverse, and moved by better and purer instincts, were constrained to admit and proclaim.

Two hundred and thirty years after the death of the Saint, his tomb was opened, and then the promise which such as he have shared, by a special privilege, with their Divine Master, that even their flesh « should not see corruption, » was once more fulfilled. « His face was not in the least changed, so that portraits might have been taken from it. » (1) Yet it is of a man thus distinguished from his fellows even in death, that the disciples of another faith have ventured to speak in words which even the heathen would blush to use. « Francis Xavier, » says the Rev. James Hough, « lived for the reputation of his order. » (2) Dr Geddes openly scoffs at him; (3) Dr Morison laments his « misty and obscure views; » (4) Dr Grant denies that he could work miracles; (5) and in 1857, another English writer, as if anxious to prove that even the pagan has keener

(1) *Annales*, tome VIII, p. 583.
(2) *History of Christianity in India*, vol. I, p. 211, (1839).
(3) *History of the Church of Malabar*, p. 42.
(4) *The Fathers of the London Missionary Society*, vol. I, p. 57.
(5) *Bampton Lectures*, app. p. 344.

religious instincts than some who boast to have a special insight into the mysteries of revelation, confidently affirms, that « his christian principles were of a very questionable nature. » (1) Alas! for those who have less discernment of the works of God, and the signs of His presence, than even the heathen and the outcast.

St. Francis came nearer than most of his race to the highest excellence which a creature can attain, but we shall now see that his successors in the Indian mission were not unworthy of him. While yet on earth he had said, of himself and his few companions; « This mission will scarcely survive its founders, unless you send fresh labourers. » His appeal was heard, and it is the career of those who followed in his footsteps which we are next to trace. Through every fluctuation of good and evil fortune, but with patient endurance and stedfast constancy, his immediate successors pursued the task which he had commenced. By their labours the ecclesiastical province of Goa, originally constituted by St. Francis, had been divided into two, of which the second was named the province of Malabar; and in addition to the flourishing missions established on both coasts, new churches had been formed in the interior, which remain to this day, wherever the messengers of peace found an entrance. Let us pass over an interval of fifty years, and we come to a name illustrious in the apostolic annals, and to an epoch worthy of our earnest attention. Few periods have been more glo-

(1) *Two Years Travel in Persia*, etc., by Robert B. M. Binning esq., Madras Civil Service, vol. I, ch. VII, p. 97.

rious to the Church, none more misunderstood by her enemies. A brief allusion to the political state of Western India at the close of the sixteenth century is indispensable to a full understanding of the events which are now to be related.

Portugal had been chosen by Divine Providence as the chief instrument in propagating the christian faith in the wide regions of the East. « From the Cape of Good Hope to the frontier of China, an extent of twelve thousand miles of coast, all the principal emporia were in her possession. » (1) The discoveries of Vasco di Gama, and the victories of Albuquerque, had led to the planting of the Cross along the whole western shore of the Indian peninsula. Animated at first by an admirable zeal for the glory of God, the fervent and generous men whom Portugal sent forth to so many lands were at least as anxious to enlarge the dominions of the faith as to promote the interests of their own nation, which at this time had attained the climax of her splendour and renown. But this first epoch of faith and zeal did not last long. The noble traditions which had inspired the conquerors of Malabar ceased to animate men who were now absorbed only by the pursuit of gain, and the ignoble arts of a greedy and unscrupulous traffic. Thus it is ever with men and their works. When life seems most vigorous, then comes dissolution or decay. All fail, by their own fault, save only the Church, which abides for ever. The Portuguese name, once so pure, was defiled by those who bore it; and the city of Goa, the metropolis of Portuguese

(1) *Discoveries in Asia*, by Hugh Murray, vol. II, ch. II, p. 70.

India, became a proverb and a scandal among the heathen. The horror which the Indians had now conceived of the European character, and the contempt which they felt for its vices and inconsistencies, had become almost a passion. The use of gross meats and of strong liquors, condemned both by the law and the instincts of these Asiatic tribes, was inexpressibly revolting to men who comprehended only the rigours and austerities of religion, and confounded the means of purification with the end. « Nothing, » says a modern traveller, « equals their frugality; » (1) and one of the latest historians of India adds, that they still practise the same austerities, « from affectation of Brahminical purity. » (2) To be a *prangui*, or even to hold communication with one, was, in their estimation, the foulest dishonour. The rare virtues which might still be witnessed in individuals failed to subdue the undiscriminating scorn and hate with which they regarded the christian name. Conversions were at an end. For fourteen years Father Gonsalvo Fernandez had laboured amongst the people of Madura without gaining so much as a single new disciple. His own virtues extorted their unwilling admiration, but he was identified, by rank and origin, with men who belonged, as they deemed, to an almost bestial caste. It was necessary to apply a remedy to this immense evil. The hour had arrived which was to determine the fortunes of Christianity in India, and decide, at least for a long period, whether light or darkness should cover the land.

(1) Haussman, *Voyage en Chine*, tome I, ch. III, p. 129.
(2) Rickards' *India*, vol. I, pp. 51, 272.

At such a crisis the hand of God was stretched forth, to lay hold of the man whom He had chosen to accomplish a work apparently impossible, and to guide him to the distant shore on which this terrible conflict between good and evil was about to commence. The apostle destined for this formidable mission was Robert de 'Nobili, one of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, and it is of his career that we must now speak.

Robert de' Nobili, like so many of the earlier Catholic missionaries, was a man of noble birth, a nephew of Cardinal Bellarmine, and near kinsman of Pope Marcellus II. In quitting Europe, and the brilliant position which would have seduced a less heroic temper than his, he had abandoned with deliberate contempt the honours and dignities of which the world vainly strives to redeem the insignificance by persuading such men to accept them. He began, then, like a true apostle, by forsaking all to follow Christ; and his after course was worthy of this beginning. In 1606, in company with Father Albert Laerzio, the provincial of Malabar, he entered the mission of Father Fernandez, and there set himself to contemplate the terrible problem which God designed him to solve. With the keen vision of a Saint, and the calm strength of a heart which had already accepted martyrdom in purpose and desire, he examined the battle field which lay before him. The next moment his resolve was made. He would stand face to face with the great demon who vexed India with his sorceries and enchantments, wrestle with him in single combat, and by God's grace trample him under foot. And this resolve he lived to execute.

St. Paul, the great exemplar of missionaries, had

said; « All things are lawful to me, but all things are not expedient. » And again : « If meat scandalize my brother, I will never eat flesh. » Here was a rule for later apostles. The new evangelist of India understood that, for the sake of his brother, he must abstain from flesh, that he might not give scandal; and from that hour he made a vow to God that he would never eat meat again. But this was a very small part of the whole sacrifice required of him. The institution of *castes*, though by many deemed only a civil institution, analogous to the distinctions of rank which exist in Europe, (1) could not be permanently recognised, for it was contrary to the great principle of christian fraternity. But neither could souls be abandoned for such a cause. « Touched by the deplorable blindness of these people buried in the darkness of death, » says his companion Laerzio, « penetrated with the grand thought that Jesus Christ came for the salvation of all men, that He must everywhere triumph over the demon, destroy his kingdom, and release his captives; recognising also the true cause of an obstinacy so frightful and perverse; Father Robert de' Nobili resolved to apply to this evil an effective remedy. Imitating the example of St. Paul, who became all things to all men; and that of the Eternal Word, who became Man in order to save men; Father Robert said within himself, — ' I also will make myself an Indian in order to save the Indians. ' » He saw at a glance all which this sublime purpose involved, and without fear he accepted all. (2)

(1) *The Theory and Practice of Caste*, by B. A. Irving esq., ch. I, p. 25.

(2) The following narrative is mainly derived from the *Letters*

Authorised by the Archbishop of Cranganore, as well as by his immediate superior, he now presented himself before the Brahmins. « I am neither a *Prangui* nor a Portuguese, » said he, « but a Roman *Rajah*, that is, a member of the highest order of nobility; I am also a *Saniassi*, that is, a penitent who has renounced the world and all its pleasures. » Both statements, as a Protestant writer of our own day candidly remarks, were « strictly true. » (1) He had as good a right to make them as St. Paul to declare, at one time that he was a Hebrew, at another that he was a Roman citizen. From this moment, condescending by a supreme effort of charity to the infirmities of those whom he desired to save, he separated from his brethren, who were known to have mingled with men of other castes, and admitted none but Brahmins to his society. Rice, bitter herbs, and water, tasted once in twenty-four hours, constituted his whole nourishment; a humble cabin was his house. Buried in a mysterious solitude, he received visitors only with extreme reserve. The fame of the great *Saniassi* of the West is gradually bruited abroad, and the doctors of the gentiles crave an audience of the illustrious penitent. They are told by his Brahmin attendant that the Father is engaged in prayer, or in meditation, or in the study of the divine law. After being rejected two or three times they are at length admitted. Fascinated by his eloquence and distinction

published by the Père Bertrand in his *Histoire de la Mission du Maduré*, of which the orientalist Mohl reported to the Asiatic Society of Paris, in 1841, « they ought to have a place in all the libraries of the learned. » *Rapport*, 31 Mai, p. 19.

(1) *Theory of Caste*, ch. v, p. 127.

of manner, and charmed by the purity and elegance with which he speaks their language, by his recitations from memory of the most famous Indian authors, or by the verses which he declaims with exquisite taste, they hasten to publish abroad the rare qualities of the hidden apostle. Their report reaches the ears of the king, who sends a message expressing his desire to see him. The Father, consenting to receive these empty honours, but not for his own sake, and deeming that the time was not yet come, replies that he is absorbed by the duties of his state, and does not quit his house. At length he makes his first conquest. A Brahmin of the highest rank, aspiring after perfection but disdaining the religion of Christ, of keen and practised intellect, and familiar with the philosophical systems of the East, resolves to visit him. Their conference lasts twenty days, during which the subtle conflict of two vigorous minds is sustained, and all the treasures of christian science are unfolded by the hand of a master. The Brahmin was no common adversary. Skilled in logic and metaphysics, versed in the writings of the Platonicians, he combated every position. At length he avowed himself vanquished, embraced « the foolishness of the Cross, » was instructed, and admitted to baptism; and then he became himself an evangelist. His example was speedily followed by others, convinced chiefly by the solid reasons which the neophyte unfolded before them. On the 8th of August, 1608, another of the same order, but eminent among all for his natural gifts, applied to the Father for instruction. Touched by the truths of faith, he flung away with indignation the ashes with which his forehead

was smeared, and forbade his three sons henceforth to bear the marks of idolatry. His demand for baptism was refused till he should prove his constancy, which he and his household had soon an opportunity of doing. And now the fruits of this great attempt began to multiply. Convinced by the testimony of his Brahmin servants that the secret life of the apostle was one of unceasing mortification and prayer, unable too to resist the wisdom that was in him, fresh converts were continually added, and always of the highest class. The Father himself, in describing the triumphant results of his patient and ingenious charity, says; « Besides my manner of life, my food and costume, and my using exclusively the services of Brahmins, there is another circumstance which aids me powerfully in making conversions; it is the knowledge which I have acquired of their most secret books. I find it stated in them that their country originally possessed four laws, or *vedas;* that three of these laws are those which the Brahmins still teach at the present day, and that the fourth was a purely spiritual law by virtue of which it was possible to attain the salvation of the soul. » (1) He then goes on to say, that this fourth *veda* was stated to be in great part lost, and that no man was sufficiently holy or learned to recover it; while the remaining *vedas* acknowledge that they do not suffice to confer spiritual life. (2) « From all this, » he adds, « I take

(1) Bertrand, tome II, p. 21.

(2) « We still know the Vedas very imperfectly. » Mohl, *Rapport*, p. 41. « Sir William Jones penetrated little beyond modern versions of particular passages. » Speir's *Life in Ancient India*, ch. I, p. 42.

occasion to point out to them, that they are living in fatal error, that neither of the three *vedas* which they recognise has power to save them, that in consequence all their efforts are vain, and this I prove to them by citing the very words of their sacred books. These people have an ardent desire of eternal happiness, and in order to merit it devote themselves to penance, alms-deeds, and the worship of their idols. (1) I profit by this disposition to tell them that if they wish to obtain salvation, they must listen to my instructions; that I have come from a remote country with the sole object of bringing salvation to them, by teaching them that spiritual law which, by the confession of their Brahmins, they have wholly lost. I thus adapt myself to their opinion, after the example of the apostle, who preached to the Athenians the Unknown God. »

In the midst of his successes it was not be supposed that he would escape the trials and contradictions which the saints have always desired to encounter, and without which they have deemed their work imperfect. The pagan Brahmins presented a petition to the king against him for refusing permission to his disciples to wear ashes, or any other symbol of idolatrous worship. A strong excitement was created, and one of his own Brahmin attendants abandoned him in fear; but requesting permission to return shortly after was rejected as unworthy. The authority of the King, who visited him in person,

(1) ... « La société indoue est encore bien plus profondément religieuse que les sociétés grecque et romaine. » *L'Inde sous la domination Anglaise*, par le Baron Barchou de Penhoën, tome II, liv. 8, p. 145.

and proffered his active protection, discouraged his enemies, and completed his triumph. A little later, in a conference of eight hundred Brahmins, assembled to judge his doctrine, the defence of the evangelical law was urged with so much force by one of his converts that his accusers were compelled to retire from the assembly, humbled and confounded.

In 1609, we find him writing as follows, from the city of Madura. « Every day our progress becomes more visible, and the conversion of the gentiles less difficult. The persecution raised by the Brahmins has had no other effect than to strengthen our position in this city. I have just now baptized eight persons, and am preparing the remaining catechumens. » At this period his day seems to have been occupied as follows. Besides the ordinary duties of the religious life, meditation and prayer, from which alone he derived strength to pursue such a career, he was engaged in the study of languages, in composing a voluminous catechism, « adapted to the genius and capacity of the people, » in four daily instructions to the christians or the catechumens, and finally in audiences granted to the numerous visitors who desired to confer with him on the spiritual law. « My church, » he says, « can no longer contain the christians; it has become necessary to enlarge it; but I am without money, and must beg your charity to send me some assistance. » Shorty after, two of his neophytes were despatched to the college at Cochin, and their journey affords us the first opportunity of judging what sort of christians were formed by his instruction and example. It is to be noted that de 'Nobili, in the letter which announced their approaching visit, distinctly

informed his colleagues, that they were too soundly instructed to take offence at the external differences of caste, mode of life, ceremonies, etc., which they would remark in the christians to whom they were sent. « You need not fear lest they should be scandalized, either at the college or in the city, by these differences. They are fully instructed in all such matters. They know that, in spite of the extreme diversity of our usages, we all serve the same God, and practise the same law, and that in this respect there is absolutely no difference amongst us. Far, then, from supposing that this journey will produce an injurious effect upon our newly founded church, I trust that it will prove most beneficial to it. »

The anticipations which he thus expressed were fully realised. It was perhaps a bold experiment, but the result showed that where the true knowledge of the Christian law existed, the institution of *caste* was a purely civil rite, and dwindled to a mere question of social etiquette. The two neophytes, Visouvasan and Malciappen, accomplished their journey in safety, and are thus described by the Fathers at Cochin, whose guests they had become. « That which touched us most deeply was to find them so perfectly instructed in the truths of our holy religion. Our Fathers took pleasure in proposing to them all sorts of questions, even upon the highest mysteries, the Holy Trinity, the Real Presence, etc.; to which they replied with such confidence, promptitude, and exactness, as filled us with admiration. » Here, then, was an adequate and independent proof of the success which had attended the labours of

de' Nobili, and at once the severest and most conclusive test which could be applied to them.

At the request of de' Nobili, whose incessant toils now exceeded his force, Father Emanuel Leitan was instructed to join him, and from him we have the following account of the mission of Madura, dated 28th of September, 1609. « I wish I could express to you the feelings which the contemplation of this infant church has excited in me, and the piety of these angels whom Father Robert has gained to God at the price of so many labours and sacrifices. I have never seen christians who, in so short a time, were so perfectly instructed in the things of God and of holy religion. » He then describes their manner of life and spiritual wisdom, and adds examples of the fresh conversions continually wrought by his illustrious colleague. A little later, the apostle himself writes as follows to the provincial, who had proposed to visit his mission. « Believe me, Reverend Father, you will taste here such abundant and lively joy as you can neither imagine nor I express. The Lord gathers into the fold so great a number of new sheep that in a few days my church will no longer be able to contain the neophytes, and we must once more think of enlarging it. During the past month I have baptized a great number of idolaters, and if I have not admitted more, it is because I am unable to suffice for so great labour. At all times, but especially in the commencement, and in this country, it is of the highest importance only to baptize catechumens after having subjected them to a long trial, and instructed them radically in all the truths of the faith. The christians whom we are now forming are the nu-

cleus of the church which we seek to establish; it is by the careful discipline of these first elements that we shall assure its fervour, constancy, and generosity in the time to come. » (1)

Again, in the following year, he writes these remarkable words to the learned Antony Vico, whom he desired to associate to his labours. « I have to relate to you things so extraordinary, that if I were writing to any other than a professor of theology, I should think it necessary to preface my account, by way of precaution, with an explanatory statement. I should warn him not to be astonished at the display of so many sorceries and witchcrafts, since we are in a land wherein the demon still exercises a terrible and universal empire, and in which this visible action of Satan is an every day fact, recognised by the whole Indian people, and forming the motive and basis of a large part of their worship. I would bid him also not be amazed at the wonders which God works among our christians, since from such marvels, according to the holy fathers, spring the healing waters which must fertilize the precious plant of christianity, newly sown in this savage soil. No doubt there may be particular cases in which simplicity exaggerates natural facts, and attributes them to supernatural causes; but a man must be blind, or obstinate beyond all measure, not to recognise in this country the occurrence of innumerable prodigies of both kinds. » It is curious to see a Presbyterian author, two hundred and forty years later, repeating the same fact, and asserting, on the authority of

(1) Bertrand, tome II, p. 73.

Protestant missionaries, that « in heathen countries such as this, Satan *still* exercises a power which was formerly allowed him, but of which he is now in a great measure deprived in christian lands. » (1)

The « prodigious success, » as Laerzio speaks, of the method adopted by de' Nobili was now more and more apparent. By a severity of life intolerable to a lower degree of charity than his, he had removed the first prejudices of the Indians; and by the wisdom and eloquence with which he combated the errors of their religion and philosophy, he gradually won their assent to the pure doctrine which he preached. « Praised be our Lord Jesus Christ » had now become the ordinary salutation of the christians when they met in the streets, and yet the faith which it expressed was only in the beginning of its triumphs. It is interesting to read the description of the great apostle by whose labours it was so rapidly spreading, and of whom Father Antony Vico, a competent judge of men and their works, thus speaks in a letter to Claude Aquaviva, General of the Society of Jesus. « However exalted was the opinion which I had formerly entertained of Father Robert's capacity for the work of converting the heathen, it was very far below the reality, which I should be disposed to call the ideal perfection of a missionary, if I did not actually witness it with my own eyes. How shall I describe that consummate science which unfolds without effort the most arduous questions of theology? that elasticity of talent which, while it reveals truth to the com-

(1) *Six Years in India*, by Mrs Colin Mackenzie, vol. I, ch. VI. p. 243. Cf. *Rambles and Recollections of an Indian Official*, by Lieut. Col. W. H. Sleeman, vol. I, ch. XI, p. 89.

prehension of the ignorant, knows how to charm and fascinate the learned? that fertile eloquence which amazes us by the opulence of its language, in spite of the difficulty and variety of the idioms of these people? » It is impossible, he adds, after a long enumeration of his great qualities, not to refer them « rather to a special grace, an extraordinary gift of the divine bounty, than to the natural talents of Father Robert. » (1)

Such was the man whom Providence had elected to combat with superstition and error in their most fatal and inveterate forms, and to triumph over them, not by human weapons, but by the power of evangelical truth and charity, even in their strongholds. So great was his success, that some of the most spiritual men of the age did not hesitate to say, that it constituted « the most admirable missionary work » in the modern annals of the Church. « The Mission of Madura » became a proverb throughout Christendom; and its founder is said, though doubtless a portion of the work was accomplished by his colleagues, to have converted more than *one hundred thousand* idolaters, nearly all of whom belonged to the caste of Brahmins. Once more it was proved, as St. Francis and his companions had already proved, that the Hindoo was not beyond the reach of grace; and that when he saw a saint, he was able to recognise him. If in later times he has seemed to reject Christianity, it was only, as we shall see, because he could no longer detect anything divine in the new order of teachers who presented it to him.

(1) Bertrand, tome II, p. 138.

And now de' Nobili prepared to quit Madura, — in which one hundred and fifty thousand native Christians attest even at this day the solidity of his work, — and attended by Indian catechists formed by his own hand, resolved to penetrate still further into the interior, and to carry the message of peace to nations and tribes yet more remote. But at this moment began that great and cruel trial which formed the crisis of his apostolic career, and which it is necessary to notice briefly before we continue the history of missionary efforts in India. (1)

Whoever has derived his notions of the celebrated Mission of Madura, and of its illustrious founder, from the writings of Protestant historians, can hardly fail to have received unfavourable impressions of both. Bold and confident in their general assertions, minute and circumstantial in details, reiterated by successive writers without the variation of a phrase, they have probably beguiled many an unwary and inexperienced reader. Who would suspect that charges so grave and formidable, fortified by an almost ostentatious array of names and dates, were only the inventions of fretful and unforgiving jealousy? Yet the most superficial examination will suffice to expose their real character, and will be found to afford a new illustration of the value of Protestant traditions against the Church, and of the mode in which they are perpetuated.

(1) A modern English writer remarks, in proof of his influence, that in the celebrated Hindoo edifices at Madura, the « dissimilitude to the general style of Hindoo architecture was occasioned by the suggestions of the Jesuit Missionary, Robert de' Nobili. » Roberts' *Hindostan*, vol. II, p. 69.

Every Protestant writer, with two or three exceptions, has ascribed the success of the Mission of Madura, and its wonderful results, to a guilty connivance with pagan superstitions. This is their explanation of apostolic triumphs which they neither believe nor understand. La Croze, Geddes, and Hough, and other writers of their class in a long succession, luxuriate in language of which we need not offer even a specimen; and direct against de 'Nobili and his successors charges of forgery, imposture, superstition, idolatry, and various other crimes which it is unnecessary to enumerate. Even the respectable Dr Grant, who is not to be confounded with such writers as these, has fallen, no doubt unwittingly, into the same delusion. (1)

It is not, as perhaps might have been anticipated, from the pages of Mosheim, — that vast arsenal of untruths, from whose ample stores every private venture of protestantism has ever since been fitted out, — that the tale was originally derived. But there is one name which invariably occurs in the writings referred to, one witness whom they all quote, and to whom the whole history is to be traced. That witness is « Father Norbert, » ex-Capuchin, and ex-missionary in India.

In a work published by this person, in 1744, (2) under circumstances which shall be described immediately, all the fables which have since been repeated as grave historical facts are found. He is quoted, apparently without suspicion, by Dr Grant, in his

(1) *Bampton Lectures for* 1843.
(2) *Mémoires Historiques sur les Missions des Malabares.*

Bampton Lectures. Yet a very little enquiry, and even a reference to so common a book as the Biographie Universelle, would have revealed to him the real character of a witness, by whose help he has not feared to defame some of the most heroic and evangelical men who ever devoted their lives to the service of God, and the salvation of their fellow creatures.

Norbert was one of those ordinary missionaries who had utterly failed to convert the Hindoos by the usual methods, and who was as incapable of imitating the terrible austerities by which the Jesuits prepared their success, as he was of rejoicing in triumphs in which he had no share. The critical moment had arrived for him which occurs once in every man's life, and upon which his whole future destiny often depends. For a time he seems to have hesitated, then made his choice, and that choice was fatal. Stung with mortal jealousy, and yielding to the suggestions of a malice which amounted almost to frenzy, he attacked the Jesuits with fury even from the pulpit. The civil power was forced to interfere, and Dupleix, the governor of Pondicherry, though he had been his friend, put him on board ship, and sent him to America. Here he spent two years, « less occupied in the work of the missions than in planning schemes to revenge himself on the Jesuits. » The publication of the mendacious work which he had prepared on the Malabar Mission, and in which he treated the Society of Jesus as a band of scheming malefactors, was prohibited by authority, but he quitted Rome and printed it secretly. Condemned by his own Order, though he affected to vindicate it from the injuries of the Jesuits, he fled

to Holland and thence to England, in both which countries he found congenial spirits. In the latter he established first a candle and afterwards a carpet manufactory, under the patronage of the Duke of Cumberland. Thence he wandered into Germany, and subsequently, having obtained his secularization, and put off the religious habit which he had defiled, he went to Portugal. Here remorse seems to have overtaken him, and he was permitted, by an excess of charity, to assume once more the habit of a Capuchin, which he a second time laid aside. Finally, after having attempted to deceive even the Sovereign Pontiff, he died, in a wretched condition, in an obscure village of France. (1)

Such was the witness upon whose statements all the protestant histories of Christianity in Malabar are solely founded. He will continue, we may be sure, to be eagerly quoted by the same class of writers. The latest of them, in a work as superficial and unlearned as it is coarse and presumptuous, surpassing all his predecessors in violence of language, still clings to this discredited witness; and despising the judgment of Christendom, as well as that more awful judgment of which it is only the precursor, is not ashamed to speak of « the impiety of the Jesuits, » to declare that they went to India « with a lie in their right hands, » that « the Christianity of Madura was undisguised idolatry, » and that its apostles « relied on an unintelligible preaching, and an equally unintelligible ceremony of baptism. » (2)

(1) *Biographie Universelle*, in voc.

(2) *Christianity in India*, by J. W. Kaye, ch. I, p. 33; ch. II, p. 73, (1859).

They were « liars, » according to this person, because they called themselves « penitents, » though their whole life was one long crucifixion; they were « liars, » because they announced themselves as « rajahs, » though many of them belonged to the most illustrious families of Europe, and they were « idolaters, » though they taught their disciples to sacrifice life itself, and constantly set them the example, rather than countenance by word or look the abominations of the gentiles.

There are some forms of guilt which no human enactment has defined, and no earthly tribunal is competent to avenge. We will not seek to pass sentence on such an accuser. We have no court in which to try him; but we shall meet him again before the just Judge.

It was the Lutheran La Croze who had encouraged Mr Kaye to speak after this fashion, by asserting, long before, that « the Jesuits regarded the Mission of Madura as a very lucrative affair! » And as if even this were too weak to satisfy his resentment, he added, that lust of money was the characteristic, not of the Jesuits only, but of Catholic missionaries generally. (1)

It was not so that our Lord had spoken of them. « You shall be hated of all men for my Name's sake, » was His promise, and abundantly has it been fulfilled. Neither their bitter austerities and mortifications, — nor their sordid food and lodging, which a beggar would have disdained to share, — nor their angelic patience and charity, — nor the supernatural

(1) *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, tome I, liv. I, p. 83.

sanctity of their lives, — nor the calm heroic dignity of their deaths, could avert the imprecations of men of whom it has been well said, « they believe neither in truth nor in virtue. » (1) It is in language against which heaven and earth silently protest that they have described that noble army of evangelists, every one of whom might have said, with St. Paul, « I fill up in my flesh those things that are wanting of the sufferings of Christ. » The mouth which could revile such as these, and charge them with fraud, covetousness, and idolatry, need not fear, — it would scarcely be a greater crime, — to call St. John unchaste, or St. Paul an usurer.

But we owe no answer to men who have forfeited by their excesses all claims to respect. It may be said, however, in defence of the better sort of Protestant writers, that the fables by which they have been not unwillingly deceived were successful, for a moment, in their influence upon men of another and a higher order. The great Bellarmine himself, the near kinsman of de' Nobili, was for a time disturbed by the specious fraud, and wrote to demand an explanation of the complicity with heathen customs attributed to his nephew. The explanation came, and, as Norbert bitterly confesses, « he changed his opinion. » (2) In 1615, the Cardinal, now perfectly informed, wrote once more to console the apostle in his trials, and to exhort him to « continue in his noble and glorious career. » In Malabar itself, where all the facts were known, the Archbishop of Goa, Primate of the In-

(1) Bertrand.

(2) *Memoires Historiques*, etc., tome I, liv. I, p. 17.

dies,—though he had actually presided at the Synod of Diamper which condemned the use of the Brahminical cord, — solemnly approved the conduct of de' Nobili; whilst his diocesan, the Archbishop of Cranganore, added to his approval these remarkable words, — « Would to God that Father Robert had more imitators of his virtue than impugners of his conduct! For my part, I would willingly wear six hundred brahminical cords, if by doing so I could effect the salvation of a single soul. » In 1623, by a Bull dated the 31st of January, Gregory XV gave his supreme sanction to the method pursued by de' Nobili; and, in 1707, Clement XI repeated the same judgment. Clement XII indeed ordered them to abolish the distinction of castes; but as this decision, founded upon an extreme view of the theory of caste, was found to be absolutely fatal to conversions, Benedict XIV, by his Bull of the 12th of September, 1744, not only applauded the conduct of the Jesuits, but authorised them to have two classes of missionaries, one for the nobles, and another for the pariahs. The decision was received with joy in India, and the Fathers contended with one another who should have the lower calling. Among the first who devoted themselves for life to the pariahs were d'Origny, Barbosa, Da Costa, Pimentel, d'Almeida, and others, who forgot their own nobility to become the servants of slaves and outcasts.

Such was the termination of the celebrated controversy about the Mission of Madura, which in its first stage lasted ten years, and out of which its founder came forth victorious. « His whole conduct, » says an eminent Protestant writer, rebuking by his

solitary protest the libels of his co-religionists, « was so admirably adapted to its end, that he was soon surrounded by crowds of converts; and although his method of instruction at first gave great offence and scandal at home, *it seemed to be the only one fitted to advance the cause.* » (1)

But his work, though justified by the unanimous voice of the ecclesiastical authorities, constantly approving during one hundred and thirty years, had received during the first conflict a serious check. The fruits of that work remain indeed, as we shall see hereafter, to this day; but the conversion of the peculiar class to which he had devoted himself with such immense success was suspended and henceforth impeded. « The general movement which had been excited amongst the Brahmins, from 1606 to 1610, was arrested, and was only very imperfectly revived at a later period. So true it is that it is difficult to recover an opportunity once lost! » (2) Had this lamentable discussion, which owed its origin to jealousy rather than to a just susceptibility, never arisen, it is impossible to say how far the success of de' Nobili would have been carried, or what would have been the condition of India at the present day.

It is time to close our account of this great apostle, who, during forty-five years, led such a life as even the solitaries of the Thebaid might have feared to imitate; but who laboured with such abundant fruit that, as an English writer remarks, « he lived to see, as the reward of forty-five years of missionary toil, a

(1) Ranke, *History of the Popes*, vol. II, book VII, p. 93, éd. Austin.

(2) *Histoire de la Mission du Maduré*, tome II, p. 197.

church *in every town of importance in the South of India.* » (1)

Visited with blindness in his old age, he used the affliction as a means of drawing still nearer to God by perpetual meditation and prayer. The city of Meliapore, near which he had long lived in a humble cabin, was sacked and destroyed towards the close of his career, and the very stones of which it was built transported to a distance; « and then men beheld with astonishment the hut of Father de' Nobili standing unhurt by the side of the ruins.» (2) But when this happened he had already gone to receive his crown.

Almost identical in date, as well in their general character, were the « not less remarkable labours, » as Ranke notices, after Jouvençy, « of the missionaries at the court of the emperor Akbar. » At the close of the sixteenth century, in the year 1599, « Christmas-Eve was celebrated with the greatest solemnity *at Lahore;* numerous catechumens, with palm-branches in their hands, went in procession to the churches and received baptism... In the year 1610, three princes of the blood-royal solemnly received baptism, » at the hands of Father Geronimo Xavier, a nephew of St. Francis. (3) Akbar himself, as a British historian notices, (4) reverenced « the images of Jesus Christ and the Virgin when they were shown to him by the missionaries; » and he was not the only prince of his race and creed who confessed, however unwillingly, both the sanctity of their lives and the

(1) Irving's *Theory of Caste*, ch. v, p. 128.
(2) Bertrand, tome III, p. 114.
(3) Ranke, p. 94.
(4) Elphinstonès *History of India*, vol. II, ch. III, p. 323.

majesty of their doctrine. The triumphs of the Gospel were not, then, limited to Western and Southern India, to which however we will now return, for the sake of tracing the process by which they were gradually accomplished.

The next great name which occurs in the roll of Indian evangelists is that of the Venerable John de Britto. The son of a viceroy of Brazil, and the intimate friend of John IV of Portugal, the apostle whose labours we are now to describe, and who was born in 1647, was educated at court as the companion of the royal princes. At the age of fourteen, on his recovery from a dangerous illness, during which he had invoked the intercession of St. Francis Xavier, he embraced the religious life, and assumed the habit, though still performing his functions as one of the royal pages. With infinite difficulty he finally obtained the King's permission to retire from court, and announced to his mother in these words his new calling : « It is time that I should quit you, my mother, to follow Jesus Christ. » When the humility and abnegation of one so highly born and so delicately nurtured excited the admiration of his new associates, he was wont to say; « I have only known true nobility since I became the companion of the friends and disciples of Jesus Christ. » In 1673 he was ordained priest, and in the same year embarked for India, where he ardently hoped, and was destined by Providence, to find the crown of martyrdom. (1)

He was not long in discovering the true nature of the

(1) *Histoire du Bienheureux Jean de Britto*, par le R. P. Prat; (1853).

mission to which he had now dedicated himself. Like his predecessors he understood, that the Indian could only be won to God by apostles who had courage to lead a supernatural life. « We would rather descend into hell, » was their common remark, « than be the disciples of *Pranguis*. » The austerities and the virtues of de' Nobili were imitated by de Britto, and, if possible, with greater success. On Easter Day, 1678, he admitted to baptism three hundred catechumens at once, every one of whom had been long and diligently prepared by himself. From that hour his converts became so numerous, that all the witnesses who were examined during the process of his Beatification declared themselves unable to reckon them. When, for the first time, he was condemned to death by the governor of Tanjore, the christians of that province declared that they would quit the kingdom *en masse* unless the edict was repealed : — « for fear of depopulating the territory, » their petition was granted. More than eighteen hundred of them subsequently received Holy Communion at his hands on the same day.

Of all the Indian missionaries none seems to have been more openly favoured with divine succours, to which, with characteristic modesty, he thus alludes. « These prodigious favours of God are so frequent that our christians have become accustomed to them. » But it is not of himself that he writes. « A neophyte named John has become celebrated by the instantaneous cures which he effects by reciting the Creed over the sick. The pagans themselves eagerly apply to him, or recommend themselves to him in their infirmities. » The examples which he notices

of energumens being delivered from possession at the moment of baptism occur at almost every page. The celebrated Father Bouchet attests the same fact. « It has been my happiness, » he says, « to consecrate the greater part of my life to preaching the Gospel to the idolaters of India, and I have had also the consolation to witness this fact; that some of the prodigies which contributed to the conversion of the heathen in the time of the primitive church are daily renewed among the churches which we have formed in the midst of this pagan land. » (1) Of many of them, he adds, Englishmen and Protestants were witnesses. But to return to de Britto.

Amongst the labours which filled up his daily life were constant disputations with the most learned of the Brahmins, whom he refuted out of their own books, until at length, confounded by perpetual defeats, they no longer dared to accept his challenge, and declined all public controversy. And now the power which God gave him was displayed more and more mightily. In 1686, from the 5th of May to the 17th of July, he baptized 2,070 catechumens. (2) Like St. Paul, he suffered stripes, bonds, imprisonment, hunger, and thirst; he wandered from place to place without a refuge; and though naturally of a frail and delicate constitution survived trials under which many of his brethren speedily sank. At Mangalore he was lowered into a tank by a pulley, and plunged and replunged into the water, till life was nearly extinct; while his catechists and neophytes, after sharing the same tor-

(1) *Lettres Édifiantes*, tome XI, p. 43.
(2) Prat, liv. III, p. 199.

ture, were subsequently scourged, and though some died under the blows only one sought escape in apostasy. Shut up with him in prison, they found strength and consolation in his fervent exhortations, and especially in his continual discourses upon the Passion of our Lord. After an incarceration of eleven days, he was brought forth, and commanded to invoke the name of Siva. His only answer was to repeat with tender devotion that of Jesus. The enraged governor struck him on the face with his own hand, when he calmly turned to him his other cheek. On the following day, he was exposed naked on a rock, under the burning rays of the Indian sun, and then beaten with rods and whips till pieces of his flesh were torn away. One of his catechists, at a later period the witness of his martydom, received such violent blows on the head, that one of his eyes was forced out, and hung down upon his cheek. « Tell his master, » cried the governor, with grim pleasantry, « to replace it for him. » To confound the scoffing persecutor, this power was given him; and when de Britto had made the sign of the Cross, the eye was immediately restored to its place. The governor ordered a book to be brought, and when the miracle was proved by the confessor reading out of it, the impenitent barbarian, who « would not believe though one rose from the dead, » angrily exclaimed, « He has done it by magic! » His chief secretary, however, was converted, and confessed « that a religion which could produce such proofs of its origin must certainly come from heaven. » (1) The perse-

(1) Prat, liv. III, p. 230.

cutor himself, by one of those judgments of which the history of Missions supplies so many examples, was subsequently impaled alive by one of the native princes.

In 1688, de Britto was sent to Portugal on the affairs of the mission, where he was embraced as a brother by Pedro II, and welcomed with public veneration, the greatest nobles thronging round him to kiss the marks of the wounds which he had received in the service of Christ. In vain the king attempted to retain him, beseeching him to undertake the education of his heir, and offering to send out many missionaries in his place. « The Indian Mission, » he answered, « was that in which a man might hope to do most for the glory of God, and suffer most for His sake; » and it was only by threatening the pious monarch with the divine displeasure that he at length extorted a reluctant consent, — though even then the king tried to thwart him, by secretly giving orders to remove all vessels out of the Tagus, on the day on which he was to embark, so that he had to row many miles in an open boat to overtake his ship, which had already started. On the 3rd of November, 1689, he was once more in India.

In fifteen months after his return, filled with new strength from above, he had already baptized eight thousand infidels; and when a prince of the country, of great power and influence, being miraculously healed, besought him to confer the same sacrament upon him, — « You know not, » was the reply, « what purity of life the profession of Christianity requires. I should be guilty before God if I gave you the grace of baptism before having sufficiently in-

structed and disposed you to receive that sacrament. » Being required, as a first condition, to put away all his wives but one, he immediately complied, and this was the event which ultimately led to the martyrdom of de Britto. An English writer has said, in the energetic language of his period, that « a lewd woman danced off the head of St. John the Baptist. » A similar fate was reserved for the Venerable John de Britto. One of the prince's discarded wives was a niece of the king, to whom she appealed for vengeance, and by whose order de Britto was seized, on the 8th of January, 1693. As he was dragged to execution, the blood flowed from the wounds which had already been inflicted on him, and lest he should expire too soon, they placed him on a horse. From a similar motive, that he might have a keener sense of suffering, they postponed his death; and being once more consigned to prison, he wrote to his brethren a letter which contains these words. « I am at present in prison, awaiting the death which I am about to suffer for my God. It was the hope of attaining this happiness which constrained me a second time to visit India. » On the 3rd of February, the day before his martyrdom, he confessed to Father da Costa, « I have this year baptized four thousand pagans. » He had long before announced to his disciples his death, and the precise manner of it; and even the executioners, whom fear and awe almost disabled for their task, confessed that « he went to the stake like a conqueror in a triumphal procession. » When the archbishop of Cranganore announced his martyrdom to the Pope, he said; « The gentiles themselves proclaim his

glory, and affirm that they saw, during three nights in succession, rays of brilliant light hovering over the stake from which he was suspended. » (1)

Such, in his turn, was this great servant of God and of the Church. Ten years were occupied in collecting on the spot, from innumerable witnesses, the facts recorded in the Acts of his Beatification. The catechist Mariadaghen, his constant companion, deposed on oath, that in the plains of Valetirel he baptized in a single day three thousand pagans. Another gave evidence that in ten days, with scanty assistance from others, he conferred the same sacrament on twelve thousand catechumens, so that they were obliged, as in the case of St. Francis Xavier, to support his wearied arms. A third made his deposition in these terms. « I know that in his second expedition to Marava, where I lived many years, » — and in the forests of which country the saint had caused numerous chapels to be erected, — « the venerable Father converted many thousand gentiles, sometimes baptizing five hundred and sometimes a thousand catechumens a day. » Father Bouchet, who himself converted thirty thousand idolaters, declared ; « I know no missionary who has gained so many souls to God. » Even the Dutch Protestants, forgetting for a moment their hatred and jealousy, celebrated his glorious death; and the Calvinist John Noot, who was the commissary of Holland on the coast of Coromandel, in a letter dated the 3rd of December, 1693, — only ten months after his martyrdom, — affirmed as follows. « His body continued fresh and

(1) Prat, liv. III, p. 409.

without the least smell, though in this country, in consequence of the extreme heat, corpses exhale al most immediately a pestilential odour. In truth, the executioners themselves were so greatly amazed, that they said to the christians converted by him whom they had just slain, ' Truly this was a man of God; ' and the neophytes answered them, — ' It was this man who made known to us the God by whom we were created. ' In saying this, they offered their own heads, to suffer martyrdom as their master had done; but the pagans, far from consenting to their demand, expressed deep regret for what they had just done. *Furthermore, the whole of that country has embraced the law of Christ.* » (1) Such were the men whom God raised up to declare His Name in India, and such, even by the testimony of Protestants, were the fruits of their work.

It would be impossible, without extending this compilation to inconvenient dimensions, to pursue with equally minute detail the history of all the companions and successors of de' Nobili and de Britto. Yet each of them might well claim a separate biography, and deserves from us, what he gained from his contemporaries, grateful respect and loving veneration. « They were giants, » as one who lived at a later and less glorious epoch of Indian missions has said, (2) and they triumphed in their day, because neither the world nor the devil could resist the might that was in them. Possessing, for the most part, the rarest mental endowments, so that if they

(1) Prat, liv. VI, p. 367.
(2) Abbé Dubois.

had aimed only at human honours they would scarcely have encountered a rival in their path; versed in all the learning of their age, and conspicuous even in that great Society which attracted to itself for more than a century the noblest minds of every country in Europe; they had acquired, in addition to their natural gifts, such a measure of divine grace and wisdom, such perfection of evangelical virtue, that the powers of darkness fled away from before their face, and the Cross of Christ, wherever they lifted it up, broke in pieces the idols of the gentiles. « I confess, » says one who did not visit India till nearly the last of these apostles had been banished from it, « that I have scrutinised the Jesuits of Hindostan with critical, perhaps with malignant, temper. I distrusted before I knew them, but their virtue has conquered and annihilated my prejudices. I have discovered in them men who knew how to ally the most sublime degrees of prayer with the most energetic and absorbing activity of life; men wholly detached from earthly things, and whose mortifications would have appalled the most fervent anchorites; men who refused themselves even indispensable necessaries, while they ceased not to exhaust their strength in the arduous toils of the apostolate; patient in all their afflictions, humble in spite of the esteem which they attracted, and the success which accompanied their ministry; burning with a zeal which, while it never knew relaxation, was always wise and always prudent. Never were they so cheerful and contented as when, after having consumed the whole day in preaching, in hearing confessions, or in the discussion and decision of the most delicate and difficult

questions, they were suddenly summoned from their sleep to carry the succours of religion to some dying man, perhaps at a distance of several miles. I do not hesitate to say it, they were workmen whom no toil could confuse, no labour exhaust. But if I give this testimony with pleasure, I speak also under the constraint of necessity; for all India would lift up its voice, if I used any other language, and tax me with imposture. » (1)

When we have added a few words upon some at least of their number, — since we may not stay to offer to all our respectful homage, — we may proceed to estimate the final results of their labours.

Who in that company of evangelists was nobler than Francis Laynez, a hundred times confessor, and all but martyr? He was accustomed to say, in allusion to his own immense labours, that « there was a time for sowing and a time for reaping; » and he would often refer to the early history of the Mission of Madura, where some years elapsed without their making a single convert. He loved solid foundations, and was no hasty builder; yet in 1700 he baptized five thousand catechumens with his own hand, every one of whom had been instructed by himself. (2) Again, in the following year, partly through the persuasive converse and example of these first converts, he admitted to the same sacrament, between the months of January and September, 4,725 pagans! During thirty-two years he witnessed for Christ through all the trials and sufferings which

(1) Perrin, *Voyage dans l'Indostan*, tome II, p. 166.
(2) Prat, p. 496.

can befall the disciple of a Crucified Master. Once he was mangled in every part of his body by the teeth of a crew of pagan fanatics, who rushed upon him like wild beasts, and would have torn him to pieces. When, in 1704, they sent him to Rome, to answer the calumnies which the Evil one had again spread abroad against himself and his brethren, he had already converted forty thousand souls. It was to Clement XI that his celebrated memorial, *Defensio Indicarum Missionum*, was presented. By the command of the Pontiff it was printed at Rome, in 1707, and won for its author the uncoveted dignity of the episcopate, from which he vainly entreated to be relieved. Consecrated in 1708 at Lisbon, he returned immediately to India, where he continued the same almost incredible austerities, and persevered in the same patient toil, as if he had been the humblest of the flock committed by the supreme pastor to his oversight. In 1712, he visited Calcutta, where he was received with the highest honours by the English governor; and in 1715 he died, after an apostolate of more than thirty years, during which he had converted to God upwards of fifty thousand idolaters.

We shall presently, when we come to speak of the agents of another creed, find ourselves contemplating only failure, uniform and irretrievable; meanwhile, let the reader observe that every successive generation of Catholic missionaries — we have noticed only a single type of each — rivalled the triumphs of that which preceded it, and always by the same methods. And they continued to the last hour such as de' Nobili, de Britto, and Laynez.

Let us resume the catalogue which we have interrupted, and remember, for our own sake if not for theirs, Fathers Martin and Bouchet, whom France, the nursery of evangelists, gave to the Indian Mission. The first, who was surnamed « the martyr of charity, » and who spoke almost all the dialects of the East, baptized in the single year 1698 two thousand catechumens, and has sufficiently revealed the character of his converts by recording, that it sometimes happened to a missionary « to hear the confessions of several villages without finding a single person guilty of a mortal sin. » Of the wealthier converts he relates that, in the season of Lent, some would undertake to provide for 5 poor persons, in honour of the Five Wounds of our Lord; some for 33, in memorial of His life on earth; some for 40, in remembrance of His sojourn in the desert. Father Martin had been captured by the Arabs on his way from Persia to India, together with his companion Father Beauvollier; but they escaped death, because as the one was always reading Arabic and the other Persian books, their tormentors supposed, in spite of their vehement rejection of Islamism, that they were not Europeans. It is Father Martin who reports, that the pagans in his time expressed such profound veneration for St. Francis Xavier, « that there was reason to fear lest they should place him in the rank of their false divinities. » He also mentions the fact, characteristic of this extraordinary mission, that in his day, « no missionary baptized less than one thousand converts yearly. » (1)

(1) Bertrand, tome IV, p 12.

Of his companion Father Bouchet it was said, that he might have declared of one of the cities which he inhabited, in the words of St. Gregory Thaumaturgus; « There were only seventeen christians when I came here, and now, thanks to Jesus Christ, there are only seventeen infidels. » In the year 1700 this illustrious missionary wrote, — « Our mission of Madura is more flourishing than ever; » and then assigned as a sufficient explanation of its progress, « We have had this year four great persecutions. » (1) In the same year he said, « I think I must have heard more than one hundred thousand confessions. » From him also we learn that the catechists and other converts of that period bore torture with the heroism of the primitive saints, and no marvel, when we consider what their teachers were. « In India, » says Sir James Mackintosh, speaking of the Society of Jesus, « they suffered martyrdom with heroic constancy; » (2) and their disciples, here as in China, learned to imitate their valour. It was of Bouchet himself that the heathen said, when on one occasion they were sacking his humble dwelling, — « This strange man is as little concerned as if we were pillaging his enemy's house; he does not even look at us! » And when, at another time, being made prisoner, his captors proposed to secure him for the night in a temple of idols, he escaped the pollution by warning them, that he would break all the idols to pieces. It was Father Bouchet, once more, who said,— « Our missionaries, who are sometimes obliged

(1) *Lettres Édifiantes*, tome XIV, p. 192.

(2) *Review of the Causes of the Revolution*; works, vol. II, p. 251. (1846).

to visit Madras, speak warmly of the courtesy of the English, and of the marks of friendship with which they honour them. I owe them this expression of our gratitude, and am rejoiced to have an opportunity of declaring it publicly. » (1)

Nor let us forget Xavier Borghese, in whom every good and perfect gift seems to have been united; who had renounced all the highest honours of the world, and with his brother, and two cousins of the same illustrious family, had offered himself to God in the Society of Jesus. It was he who when bidden by the heathen judge, as the Prince of the Apostles was once bidden, no longer to mention the Holy Name, answered with sublime indignation : « Think you that I left my country, and all that was dear to me on earth, and came here to preach the law of the true God, only to keep silence now that I am here? » And when the heathen heard him, they said to one another; « This man is a rock, at whose feet threats and words break like the waves. » (2) Then the judge arrayed before his eyes the instruments of torture, and Borghese smiled, and said; « These are only fit to frighten children; when I came hither to preach the gospel, I expected to suffer more than this. » « We will see, » replied the judge, « whether your disciples have as much courage us yourself; » and then he ordered his soldiers to break the bones of one of his catechists. « Now I begin, » exclaimed the latter, as soon as he heard the command, « to be truly your disciple. Do not fear, my Father, that I shall do any thing

(1) *Lettres*, tome XIII, p. 105.
(2) *Lettres*, tome X, p. 210.

unworthy of a Christian. Only give me your blessing, and I am ready to bear all. » (1) The apostles of India, it is evident, had known how to form the same class of disciples as their brethren in China.

With Borghese let us number also the two brothers Carvalho, Simon and Joseph, rivals in virtue, both martyrs in desire, and one in fact, as the prison of Tanjore could testify; and La Fontaine, destined for China, but arrested on the way by his admiration for the Indian Mission, and who converted such a multitude of the highest caste that he was called « the apostle of the Brahmins; » and De Proenza, who in three years won ten thousand souls, whose conversion he modestly attributed to the edifying example of his neophytes, and the salutary effects of persecution, rather than to his own labours; and De Mello, who counted 15,386 as the harvest of four consecutive years; and de Saa, who smiled upon his torturers, and when their bloody work was over, finished by giving them his blessing, at their own request; and Capelli, who having vainly sought to enter Tonquin, found in India the grave which was refused him in China.

Nor must we omit Diaz and Bertholdi, Rodriguez and Pereyra, Belmonte the martyr, and Bouttari, named by the heathen « the penitent without spot, » over whose body even the English shed tears of regret; » (2) and d'Almeida and da Cunha, both kinsmen of martyrs, and the latter beaten to death with clubs, like St. James, his last word being the holy name of Jesus. Let us remember also, that we may gain their

(1) Bertrand, tome IV, p. 94.
(2) Tome IV, p. 403.

prayers, Ribeiro and Louis de Vasconcellos, du Choisel and de Montjustin, Maury and de Saint Estevan, Mamiani and de Faria; and Boves, who was led with a chain round his neck to confess Father Fernandez, who was dying in prison of his torments; (1) and Paul de Mesquita, who was martyred by Dutch Calvinists; and the three Dominicans whom the Mussulmans slew, and then confessed that they saw three days after enveloped with light. Let us recall also Beschi, the prodigy of genius and erudition, of whom a Protestant missionary relates, in 1854, that he was « the best Tamil scholar of his age, » and that « his name is venerated even among the Hindu Literati; » (2) and the learned and chivalrous Intorcetta, not unworthily honoured by the magnificent panegyric of Abel Remusat. To these let us add, since we may not stay to relate all their noble deeds, the apostolic Verjus, who used to say to his younger brethren when they desired to follow him to India, « It is not to Thabor that Jesus invites you, but to Calvary, and to death. » And this he said not to discourage, but to warn them. « Remember, » he added, « that an apostle dies daily. Do not, then, conceal from yourselves the difficulties; they are very great, and the ordinary measure of charity is not sufficient to overcome them. But the charity of Jesus Christ which animates you will no doubt augment your own. » (3) It was Verjus who said to a dying father, who proposed to disinherit a wicked son, and to

(1) Henrion, tome II, 1re partie, p. 187,

(2) *The Land of the Veda*, by the Revd Peter Percival, ch. VI, pp. 118, 120; (1854).

(3) *Lettres Édifiantes*, tome X, p. 376.

leave all his property to the Society; « Such sentiments are not in accordance with the dispositions which become us at the hour of death. Send for your son, speak to him as a father, and then do whatever reason, paternal love, and religion may inspire. But whatever decision you adopt, choose any other heir than the Jesuits; and, for myself, be assured that however ardently I may desire the establishment of my mission, my zeal shall never serve as a pretext either to the vengeance of a father or the ruin of a son. » It is pleasant to add, to the honour of our country and people, the statement of Verjus, that « even England, though at war with us, sometimes furnished us with opportunities of despatching our missionaries by her ships, and we ought to confess our obligations to the Royal Company of London for the good offices which it has performed for us in this respect. »

Who, again, more nearly approached the true apostolic character than the martyr de Sidoti, who, in 1709, was landed alone on the coast of Japan, in spite of the remonstrance of the officers of the ship which conveyed him, and to whom he replied; — « It is not in my own strength that I confide to subdue these people to the yoke of the gospel, but in the all-powerful grace of Jesus Christ, and in the protection of so many martyrs who in this land have shed their blood for His name. » As the boat approached the shore, he was observed to be absorbed in prayer, and on landing kissed the ground. Don Carlos de Bonio, looking out of curiosity into the bag which contained all his effects, found a small portable altar, a box containing the consecrated oils, a breviary, the Imi-

tation of Christ, a crucifix, a picture of the Blessed Virgin, and two Japanese grammars. This was all his wealth. He was seized almost immediately, shut up in prison at Jeddo,— where he converted his keepers, who were all martyred, — and finally enclosed in a pit with a small aperture to admit air, where he died a lingering death. (1)

Not unworthy to be compared with this faithful witness was Le Caron, though his apostolic career ended almost as soon as it began. Learning, immediately upon his arrival in India, that a number of idolaters, driven out of their village by the inhabitants because afflicted with a contagious malady, were dying miserably in a neighbouring forest, he hastened to their succour; and after ministering with patient charity to the bodily wants of these afflicted outcasts,

(1) *Lettres*, tome XI, p. 278. For the sake of brevity, all reference to the mission of Japan, so inexpressibly glorious both to the apostles and their converts, is omitted in these pages. Here also the intrigues of Protestantism, and the unexampled crimes of the Dutch Calvinists, aided by the commercial rivalry of Spain and Portugal, ruined a flourishing church, and secured the triumph of paganism. « The faith implanted in the breasts of some hundreds of thousands of converts, » says a living Protestant writer, « was no mere nominal creed, to be swept away by the first wave of persecution. It not only furnished them with courage, but with *arguments* with which to meet their persecutors... The early records of the Church do not afford instances of more unflinching heroism than is furnished in the narratives of those martyrdoms to which Japanese of all ranks were subjected when the day of trial came... We have reason to believe that the last spark has never yet been extinguished, and that, smouldering secretly, the fire of François Xavier still burns in the bosoms of some of those who have received the traditions of his teaching. » Oliphant, *Lord Elgin's Mission*, vol. II, ch. II, p. 25.

and converting nearly the whole of them to Christ, he died himself, together with his catechist, of the disease which destroyed at once the evangelist and his disciples. (1)

Such as these they continued to the end, and to their last hour He whom they served was with them. Like their brethren in China, no perils could alarm, no sufferings discourage, no malice resist them. Filled with the presence of God, all teaching the same uniform doctrine, and all illustrating it by the same marvellous sanctity of life, they won first the admiration and then the love and confidence of a race naturally disposed to the contemplation of divine things, and only asking for teachers whose virtues proved that God was with them. « Catholicism, » says Ranke, without appreciating his own words, « was eminently calculated to vanquish even such a world as this. » Not one of them, we have been told, converted less than a thousand pagans annually. And these apostolic triumphs continued, in spite of the absence of all human aids, up to the last hour. Even Protestants have confessed, that if they had not been forcibly withdrawn, they would probably have converted *all India*. « Their progress, » to quote Ranke once more, « outwent all expectation, and they succeeded in overcoming, at least to a certain extent, the resistance of those national systems of religion which are the immemorial growth of the East. » (2) As late as 1730, — for we must hasten to an end, and cannot attempt in such a sketch as this to recount all their labours,

(1) *Lettres*, tome XIII, p. 222.
(2) Book VII, vol. II, pp. 92, 97.

or even to record their names, — we still find Father Calmette acknowledging with devout gratitude the « *grace de miracles constante et assez ordinaire* » with which they were favoured; and in 1743, Father Possevin could once more say, — « *There is not in the world a more flourishing mission* than that of India, nor one in which the faithful, of all the provinces, offer more numerous examples of those virtues which were the glory of primitive christianity. » (1)

For more than two hundred years the Indian apostles had pursued, with almost unvarying success, their task of mercy, and now we approach the last page of their annals. The evil day was at hand, but when it came it found them such as their fathers had ever been. M. Perrin had now reached India, and tells us, as one example ont of many, of Father Busson, still emulating the unwearied charity and valiant austerities of those who had gone before him; Busson, who ate nothing but bread and bitter herbs, and yet laboured without ceasing, and « though covered with wounds and ulcers, seemed always insensible to pain, always calm, gentle, and gay, and died at last at the foot of his crucifix. » Finally, let us mention the name of Xavier d'Andrea, the youngest of all, the last survivor of that noble army, and the only one who still remained alive in India when the Society was re-established by Pius VII, in 1814. With him the record closes; for now the hour of darkness was at hand, and the Evil one was about to snatch his first victory, after more than two centuries of confusion and defeat.

In 1754, Mary Anna, of Austria, sister of Charles VI

(1) Tome XIV, p. 192.

and wife of John V of Portugal, who had worked with her own hands for the Indian missionaries, and supported them with all her strength, — foreseeing that great outburst of blasphemy and crime which began with the suppression of the Jesuits and culminated in the French revolution, — exclaimed, shortly before her death, « Woe to these missions when I am no more! » Her prediction of sorrow was speedily accomplished. In the following year, all the succours which the missionaries had been accustomed to receive from Europe were stopped, and from that time till the day of their death the Bishop of Cochin and the Archbishop of Cranganore lived upon alms. In 1760, orders arrived from Portugal, then abandoned by a fitting chastisement to the administration of Pombal, and one hundred and twenty-seven Jesuits were seized at once, and cast into prison at Goa. A few weeks later, on the 2nd of December, 1755, they were dragged on board a vessel, of which the captain vainly declared that from forty to fifty was the extreme number he could receive. But the orders of the viceroy, Count d'Ega, were imperative, and the ship started on a voyage during which twenty four of the Fathers died of scurvy, and the rest arrived more dead than alive at Lisbon, where they were flung into dungeons, of which only the lowest and darkest cells were assigned for their dwelling. Here they languished for years, meek and resigned in the midst of almost intolerable sufferings, and mourning rather for their orphaned flock than for their own unmerited wrongs. Once they met during their captivity, each standing at the door of his cell, to hear from the mouth of a gaoler, fitting deputy and

agent of the Marquis de Pombal, the total suppression of the Society. Thirty-five died in prison during the first sixteen years, among whom were Diaz, Albuquerque, and da Silva; and when at length the doors were opened, and they were permitted to re-enter a world in which they had no longer a home, a family, or a calling, forty-five Fathers survived, sole remnant of all the missionaries of India, China, and America, amounting to many thousands.

And now India was abandoned once again to the demons who had so long ruled her. Never, perhaps, during their ceaseless warfare with our race, had the powers of darkness gained a more signal triumph. The great apostles who had been able, by the irresistible might which they derived from their union with God, to overthrow « principalities and powers,» were now for ever silenced; or if they still lifted up their voices, it was in that company which St. John saw, « under the altar, » to whom « it was said, that they should rest for a little time, till their fellow servants and their brethren, who are to be slain even as they, *should be filled up.* » (1) Meanwhile, their implacable enemies seemed to triumph over them. « For two hundred years, » says one who exulted in their fall, « these Fathers had struggled against hate, and though they might flatter themselves with apparent reason that they would overcome it, they finished by succumbing to it. Oh! how active and vigilant is that hate which is eternal like God, and terrible like Him! » (2)

(1) *Apoc.*, VI, II.

(2) D'Alembert, *Sur la destruction des Jésuites*, Œuvres, tome V, p. 244.

But the real victims of the barbarous and remorseless conspiracy which robbed every land at once, — from the frontiers of Europe to the furthest East, and from Lake Huron to the mouth of the Plata, — of its pastors and evangelists, were not the apostles themselves, to whom suffering and ignominy were precious, and who cared not how thorny was the path which led them to Jesus; but the unfortunate heathen, now deprived of the only teachers who were skilled to unloose their bonds, and to win them from their idolatry and superstition to the knowledge of the true God. « The Jesuits bid fair, » says one whom we have already quoted, and who bears a name well known amongst us, « to convert both India and China; and, if their career had not been stopped by political events, *would probably have finally succeeded.* » (1) We have seen how great a work they had already accomplished; but it was the mysterious purpose of the Almighty that the kingdom of Satan should not yet be overthrown, and they who were most likely to destroy it were withdrawn from the combat, just as they seemed about to obtain a final and undisputed victory.

The day which had opened with such bright promise of grace had now set in thick darkness. The Hindoo was once more alone with his idols, and none remained to tell him that he was in the embrace of death. No doubt he had deserved his fate; but there were others, scattered all along both shores of that great peninsula, from the bay of Bengal to the Persian gulf, to whom the word of truth had been

(1) *India as it may be*, by George Campbell esq., ch. VIII, p. 397.

declared, and who had received the gift of faith. Who can think without pity of their sad lot? Who should now break to them the bread of life? Would they struggle on, poor orphans of Christ, trusting to His compassion who is the Father of the fatherless; or sink down in hopeless despair, and forsake Him who seemed to have forsaken them? On one side of them was the Hindoo, who upbraided them as outcasts; on the other the fierce and persecuting Mahometan, who had already vexed them and their fathers before them, and who now attacked them with fresh fury when he found that their defenders were gone. In the single year 1784, *thirty thousand Christians* of Canara were forcibly carried off at once (1), and this was only one instance out of many. And besides these deadly foes, and the equally terrible scourge of « an inundation of Mahrattas, » they were surrounded by sectaries of every name and creed, now bolder than ever,— Syrian, Danish, Dutch, and English,— who each spread his snare for them. And they were alone, with none to warn, to guide, or to help. « For *nearly sixty years*, » says one who hated them for the faith which they professed, « i. e. from 1760 to 1820, scarcely any care was taken of the Catholic Missions, and of their numerous converts. The older missionaries gradually died out, while none arrived from Europe to fill their place. » (2)

Was this, then, to be the end of all the labours and sacrifices, of all the prayers and meditations, of St. Francis, of de Britto, of Laynez, of Borghese,

(1) *Historical Sketches of the South of India*, by Colonel Mark Wilks, vol. II, ch. xxx, pp. 528 and seqq.

(2) *Missions in South India*, by Joseph Mullens, p. 135, (1854).

and their fellow workmen? Why did the Good Shepherd abandon His sheep, and leave them to a warfare in which victory seemed impossible, while defeat would be not only fatal to them, but a sore reproach to the guides and teachers who had gone amongst them in His name, and by His aid had set them free? Other churches, indeed, even some which had been planted by Apostles, had perished utterly; were *these* also to be laid waste, and their children to ask in despair, « why is my sorrow become perpetual, and my wound desperate so as to refuse to be healed? » (1)

The answer which history supplies to this question reveals one of the most wonderful and unexpected facts in the annals of Christianity. It would almost seem as if God had resolved to justify His servants, by a special and marvellous providence, before the face of the whole earth; and had left their work to what seemed inevitable ruin and decay, only to show that neither the world nor the devil, neither persecution, nor fraud, nor neglect, could extinguish the life that was in it. And so when men came to look upon it, after sixty years of silence and desolation, they found a living multitude, where they expected to count only « the corpses of the dead. » Some indeed had failed, and paganism or heresy had sung its song of triumph over the victims; others had retained only the great truths of the Trinity and the Incarnation, while ignorance, and its twin sister superstition, had spread a veil over their eyes; but still the prodigious fact was revealed that *more than*

(1) *Jeremias*, XV, 18.

one million remained, after half a century of utter abandonment, who still clung with inflexible constancy to the faith which had been preached to their fathers, and still bowed the head with loving awe when the names of their departed apostles were uttered amongst them. Such is the astonishing conclusion of a trial without parallel in the history of Christianity, and which if it had befallen the christians of other lands, boasting their science and civilisation, might perhaps have produced other results than among these despised Asiatics. When we have furnished some account of their present condition, and have heard what even their enemies say of them, we may proceed to ask the latter what *they* have attempted towards the conversion of India, and how far the attempt has been successful.

The following table, — which exhibits the state of the Catholic Missions of India in 1857, in all the twenty Apostolic Vicariates into which the territory is now divided, — will serve to show, that the permanence which so wonderfully distinguishes these Missions, as well as the neighbouring churches of China, is not the privilege of one or two places only, but is equally conspicuous in every part of the country. It will be observed that the Mission of Madura, founded by de' Nobili, still counts *one hundred and fifty thousand* Catholics; while that of Verapoly, the field in which so many of the Jesuit missionaries laboured, numbers nearly *two hundred and thirty thousand*.

1857

	Vicariates.	Bishops.	Catholics.
1	Madras	Right Rev^{d} J. Fennelly	44,480
2	Bombay.	— Anast. Hartman . } — Ignatius Persico . }	17,100
3	Eastern Bengal . .	— Thomas Olliffe . . .	13,000
4	Western Bengal		15,000
5	Pondicherry. . . .	— Clement Bonnand. .	100,046
6	Madura.	— A. Canoz, S. J. . .	150,000
7	Hyderabad	— Daniel Murphy . . .	4,000
8	Vizagapatam . . .	— T. E. Neyret. . . .	7,130
9	Mangalore.	— Michael Anthony . .	30,480
10	Verapoly	Most Rev^{d} F. R. Ludovico . } Right Rev^{d} F. Bernardino . }	228,006
11	Quilon	Administrator, F. Bernardino .	56,000
12	Mysore	Right R^{d} E. L. Charbonneaux.	17,110
13	Coimbatore	Administrator, C. Bonnand . .	17,200
14	Agra	Right Rev^{d} F. C. Carli , . . .	20,100
15	Patna.	— A. Zubber	3,400
16	Ava and Pegu. . .	— J. B. Bigaudet . . .	5,320
17	Malayan Peninsula.	— A. Boucho.	5,400
18	Siam.	— J. B. Pallegoix . . .	4,900
19	Jaffna.	— J. Bettachini. . . .	65,500
20	Columbo	— Cajetano Antonio. (1)	90,900

From this table, which considerably understates the numbers at the present time, we learn that there are still in the Indian Missions not far short of one million Catholics; or, if we add the Christians

(1) *Madras Directory for* 1857.

attached to the Goa schism, professing also to be Catholics, and whose gradual reconciliation may be anticipated, we shall have a total of about *twelve hundred thousand*, the living witnesses of the labours and triumphs of the missionaries of the Catholic Church.

The Indian Church, then, in spite of trials which might well have dimmed the faith and exhausted the patience of her children, still retains her numbers, and once more folds her sheep in secure pastures; but even this is not the most striking fact in her history. It has always been one of the royal prerogatives of the Church, one of the special marks of her divine origin, that she alone, — while maintaining her own distinctive life, and baffling, almost without effort, the assaults of the various sects and schools which encamp outside her walls, - has power to attract to herself, one after another, the children of error, of whatever class or creed. We shall see this hereafter impressively illustrated in the Missions of Syria and the Levant. But it was perhaps hardly to be expected that India, after her unequalled misfortunes, should furnish evidence of the same truth.

The following table of *adult* Baptisms, — i. e. conversions, — will indicate with sufficient clearness the operation of that divine power which belongs to the Church alone, and by which her peaceful conquests are made amongst all those, of whatever class, who are « ordained to eternal life. » It will be seen that the returns are very imperfect, in some of the Vicariates relating only to a single year; but they will more than suffice to prove the fact which we have affirmed.

	Vicariate.	No of Adult Baptisms.	Hindoos or Mahometans.	Nestorians or Protestants.
1	Madras	From 1850 to 1856	742	134
2	Bombay.	— 1852 to 1854	88	55
3	Eastern Bengal . .	No Return.	»	»
4	Western Bengal. .	From 1844 to 1855	112	221
5	Pondicherry. . . .	— 1853 to 1855	1,384	144
6	Madura.	— 1853 to 1856	1,045	178
7	Hyderabad.	No Return.	»	»
8	Vizagapatam . . .	From 1851 to 1855	954	45
9	Mangalore.	In 1854	100	8
10	Verapoly	Annually more than	1,000	»
11	Quilon	In 1854	204	»
12	Mysore	— 1853	200	»
13	Coimbatore	From 1848 to 1846	590	»
14	Agra	In 1855	20	44
15	Patna.	— 1855	10	13
16	Ava and Pegu . . .	— 1855	103	1
17	Malayan Peninsula.	— 1855	272	»
18	Siam	No Return	»	»
19	Jaffna.	From 1852 to 1855	1,348	124
20	Columbo	In 1856	326	372

It is proved, then, that the churches founded by St. Francis Xavier and his successors not only preserve their own numbers, but are continually augmented, — apparently by some thousands annually, — from the ranks of Hindoos and Mahometans, of Nestorians and Armenians, as well as of all the multiplied sects, — Anglican, Anabaptist, Presbyterian, Wesleyan, and others, — which display to the inhabitants of India the various and ever shifting forms of Protestantism. And the accessions from these dif-

ferent sources appear to increase annually. In the year 1859, the number of adult converts in the single province of Madura reached 2,614; while in the diocese of Verapoly « more than a thousand heathens are being baptized yearly, besides many Nestorians, and some native Protestants. » (1)

The latest account from the Vicariate of Madura, published by Father Saint-Cyr, in 1859, records the reconciliation of more than 5,000 schismatics, and the recent conversion of 500 idolaters and 400 protestants. There were at that date forty-three Jesuit Fathers in the mission, and thirty-five had died in their work in the previous twenty-one years. The native college of Negapatam, frequented exclusively by young men of high caste, had already produced seven priests, eight theological students, a large number of catechists and schoolmasters, and several government officers. Five orphanages and three hospitals had been founded by the Fathers, besides convents of Carmelite and Franciscan Nuns, « who discharge, » says Father Saint-Cyr, « with surprising exactness and fervour the duties of the religious life. » (2) That Hindoo women should find grace to lead the austere life of the Carmelite or the Franciscan, will appear incredible to all but those who know what graces accompany a religious vocation. It remains only to ascertain, in the last place, what is the character of the existing native Catholics, after their long and formidable trials, and how far they display that stedfast attach-

(1) *Madras Catholic Directory for* 1860, p. 154.

(2) *La Mission de Maduré*, par Louis Saint-Cyr S. J. p. 5. (1859).

ment to the Church of which their fathers set them the example.

The missionaries who, during the last twenty years, have entered into the vineyard which others had planted, must first be heard. They had no previous experience of Asiatic Christians, and their praise, if they praise, will at least be free from all suspicion of personal or interested motive. It was the work of others, and not their own, which they were now, for the first time, enabled to estimate. Besides, their evidence, whatever it may be, shall be compared immediately with that of Protestant witnesses.

It is in these words that a European missionary, who writes from the Coast of Coromandel, describes his first impression, — « I am astonished at the faith of these Christians! » (1)

A little later, in 1829, M. Bonnand, subsequently Bishop, relates that this faith, which half a century of trial had failed to destroy, was easily communicated to others, and that he and his colleague had already baptized one hundred and seventy converts, chiefly of the highest castes, since their recent entrance into the Telinga Mission. (2)

In 1838, Father Garnier, of the Society of Jesus, writes as follows : « The Christians of these countries are in general well disposed, and strongly attached to the faith. The usages introduced amongst them by the Jesuits still subsist; morning prayer in common, an hour before sunrise; evening prayer, with spirit-

(1) *Annales*, tome IV, p. 152.
(2) *Ibid.*, p. 158.

ual reading; catechism for the children, given every day by a catechist, and the devotions of Mass on sundays in the chapel. When the missionary makes his tour of the district, all approach the sacraments. But in spite of these excellent practices there still remains much ignorance and superstition : we shall have a good deal to do to form them into a people of true Christians. Our efforts shall be directed to this end, before we turn our attention to the pagans; their turn will come when we are more numerous. Among the latter there are many who are not far from the Kingdom of God; may we soon be able to gather them in! » (1)

Father Martin, writing from the same Mission in the following year, just before his death, relates a characteristic incident which deserves mention. The eldest son of a Christian family had been opposed in a question of inheritance by his brothers, who had recourse to the civil tribunals. The missionary invited them successfully to peace and reconciliation. « The eldest son promised to forget the past; his brothers and sisters engaged on their part to obey him in every thing, and they all pledged themselves to respect their poor mother, and to procure for her happier days. The eldest son then came to prostrate himself before her, saying, ' Glory be to Jesus Christ, ' — the usual form of peace and reconciliation. The mother raised him, and made the sign of the cross on his forehead. The other children went in succession to cast themselves at the feet of their mother and eldest brother, who, after raising them,

(1) *Annals*, vol. I, p. 168. English edition,

signed them with the cross as their mother had done for him. » (1) Finally, they all received Holy Communion together.

In 1839, Father Bertrand, writing from Madura, says of the *Sanars;* « One might almost say that they have not eaten with Adam of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil, and that they were created in the days of original innocence. Among these Indians there are numbers, who, if asked whether they commit particular faults, will reply; ' Formerly I did — it is many years since. I told it to the Father, who forbade me to do so, and since then I have not committed it. ' We reckon more than seven thousand Christians of this caste. » (2)

Of the *Odeages*, « who may be said to live in general in comparative affluence, and esteem themselves noble, » the same witness says; « They give great consolation to the missionary, by their enlightened faith, regard for their family, and admirable docility. »

Of the Brahmins, « who are, as it were, the gods of the country, » this is his report; « I fear not to call them, with some exceptions, whitened sepulchres. Christianity makes among them but little progress. » « After the Brahmins come the *Modeliars* and the *Vellages*, of whom a great many have been converted to Christianity. Among these, the missionary, with some few noble exceptions, finds little consolation, but many annoyances and afflictions. We have, however, two congregations entirely com-

(1) *Annals*, vol. II, p. 142.
(2) *Ibid.*

posed of *Vellages*, who, by their fervour, richly recompense us for the labour we bestow upon them, and encourage us to take particular care of the caste. They are, moreover, the distinguished men of the country. » Finally, he adds, that « in the midst of so many crosses, and continually assaulted by schismatics, our Christians have been strong in the faith, and constant in their perseverance. »

In 1842, Father Louis de Saint-Cyr makes the following striking observation. « Within a certain radius around what we call the centre of the Mission, all the villages, with rare exceptions, are christian; beyond this circle, and a little further removed from the residence of the Fathers, you enter the region of paganism. This fact proves how valuable was the presence of the evangelical labourers in this country, and what a vivifying influence has been diffused by the exercise of the holy ministry. If these former converters of souls had been more numerous, all this part of India would at the present time be enlightened by the light of faith. » (1)

In the following year, 1843, Monseigneur Borghi, Vicar Apostolic of Agra, says; « Ten years ago conversions were rare, because pastors were few. Religion was then almost unknown : now what a contrast! Three new churches lately built, divine worship celebrated with solemnity, double the number of priests, and I may add also double the number of conversions, for these are always proportioned to the number of evangelical labourers... Surrounded as we are by sects, religion advances, in the midst of

(1) Vol. IV, p. 70.

them, with quiet but steady and uninterrupted progress. » (1)

In 1845, a missionary writing from Trichinopoly says; « The eagerness of the people for instruction is one of the finest traits in their character. We could keep the faithful for twenty four hours together in church without wearying their attention; » and he notices with admiration « the tender emotion which they display, shedding tears and bowing their heads to the ground, when the image of the Crucified is exhibited to them. » (2) This eagerness of the Catholic natives for religious instruction, of which they were so long deprived, is attested by a candid protestant missionary, who says; « It is remarkable that the books published at Pondichery should obtain such a wide circulation. Those who cannot afford to pay the price for a printed copy obtain the loan of one, and transcribe it on the palm leaf. (3)

It would be easy to multiply these interesting testimonies, but it is time to confirm them by protestant evidence. The Catholic writers exaggerate nothing, but recount with the same simplicity their consolations and their trials. Ignorance, they say, is, on account of past neglect, the great misfortune of some of their flocks, and it is to remove this master evil that their first efforts are directed. They earnestly complain also of the demoralising influence of Europeans, especially in the large cities on the coast, where the native christians, exposed to every species

(1) Vol. V, p. 367.

(2) Vol. VII, p. 245.

(3) *The Land of the Veda*, by the Rev^{d} P. Percival, ch. VI, p. 122.

of corrupting agency and example, are too often a subject of grief and anxiety to their pastors. They lament too, with reason, the multiplication of sects, all contending together in the very face of the heathen, and outbidding one another, like eager merchants, in their attempts to purchase « converts, » while they bring contempt and derision upon the religion which they profess to hold. But in spite of these manifold difficulties, they are perfectly unanimous in reporting the constancy of their disciples, the virtues of many of them, and the gradual progress of the faith. Let us now see, in conclusion, how far their testimony agrees with that of Protestant writers, of all sects,— most of whom, it should be observed, have manifested a hatred of the Catholic Church which will at least clear their evidence from all suspicion of partiality.

To begin with the celebrated Henry Martyn, we learn, by undesigned confessions, both the spiritual influence of the clergy, and the obstinate stability of their flocks. The first Martyn attests and envies in the following declaration. « Certainly there is infinitely better discipline in the Romish Church than in ours, and if ever I am to be the pastor of native christians, » - - a hope which was not destined to be fulfilled, — « I should endeavour to govern with equal strictness. » (1) The second fact his biographer unwittingly proclaims, when he tells us, that Martyn « made an offer to the Roman Catholics at Patna of preaching to them on Sundays, *but the proposal was rejected.* » (2)

(1) *Memoir of the Rev. H. Martyn*, p. 288, 9th edition.
(2) P. 274.

Dr Claudius Buchanan, whose candour often trips up his prejudice, is our next witness. « Dr Buchanan, » says Major Scott Waring, « does justice to the Romish clergy and Missionaries in India, whom he describes as pious and zealous men, and that they have done much good by the purity of their lives, and the influence of their example. » (1) But let us hear Buchanan himself. « There are at this day in India, » he says, « members of the Church of Rome, who deserve the affection and respect of all good men. » (2) But he has more to tell us. He travelled much, as is well known, in Southern India, and here are some of his observations. « From Cape Comorin to Cochin there are about *one hundred churches* on the sea-shore alone. Of these the chief part are the Syrian-Latin, or more properly the Syrian-Romish Churches. Before each, on the sand of the shore, is a lofty Cross, which, like the Church itself, is conspicuous at a great distance. » Sometimes he saw churches of more recent construction. « The civil magistrate of the island of Leyden showed me three Roman Catholic churches *lately* built, and assured me that every person on the island is a christian. » He is next at Jaffna, and in the church there, « the largest structure of slight building which I ever saw, every Sunday about a thousand or twelve hundred people attend, and on feast days three thousand and upwards. » At Manaar, « they were *all* Romish christians. » At Tutycorin, « the whole of this tribe, without exception, are christians in the Romish

(1) *Letter to the Revd John Owen*, by Major Scott Waring, p. 15,
(2) *Christian Researches in Asia*, p. 75, (1840).

communion. » « I visited Mahé and Calicut. The Romish Christians are numerous. » And then he relates what kind of christians even the poor boatmen in his employ were. « Before they hoisted the sail, they all joined in prayer to God for protection. Every man at his post, with the rope in his hands, pronounced his prayer... One of Mr Swartz's catechists, who accompanies me every where, appeared to be a good deal edified by the scene. » (1)

Dr Kerr, also an Anglican minister at Calcutta, confirms Buchanan's account, though with extreme regret, and tells us, — that « the Roman Catholic Syrians, it is thought, are much more numerous than the members of the original church;... their congregations are reported at *ninety thousand.* » While of the missions attached to the college of Verapoly he says, — « The number of christians composing these churches must be great, as all and every of the fishermen are Roman Catholics. » (2)

Dr Middleton, the first Protestant bishop in Calcutta, who considered that for a Hindoo to become a Catholic « is little more than exchanging one idol for another, » will now give us his testimony. « In the evening, » he informs us, « Mrs Middleton and myself usually walk on the sea-shore; » a habit which sometimes made them witnesses of instructive scenes. « During one of his evening walks, » says Mr Le Bas, who shares his notions about the Catholic religion,

(1) Pearson's *Memoirs of Buchanan*, vol. II, pp. 49 to 60. 3d edition.

(2) *Report on the State of the Christians of Cochin and Travancore*, by the Revd Dr Kerr, Senior Chaplain of Fort St-George, pp. 10, 12.

« the Bishop met with an instance of that retired and lonely religion, which often strikes Protestants so forcibly in Catholic countries, and which form, perhaps, one of the most pleasing peculiarities of the Romish worship. Being by the water side, he came near to a small oratory... lighted by three small lamps suspended from the roof. In this little chapel an aged and solitary worshipper was so deeply engaged in prayer, that he appeared insensible to the presence of strangers, and paid no attention to the Bishop until his devotions were finished. They then learned from him that this lowly house of prayer had been constructed by himself, together with four or five other native Christians, for the purpose of daily devotion; but that on Sunday he regularly attended the service of the church. » (1) Dr Middleton must have regretted that these seemingly devout Christians had only « exchanged one idol for another; » especially as he remarks, « it is curious that in every part of Asia you find the Church of Rome; » and again, that « Protestants as we are, it were bigotry to deny that the Church of Rome, notwithstanding that she may have exaggerated her successes, *has done wonders in the East.* » (2)

Mr Rhenius, who was both an Anglican and a Lutheran minister at the same time, and who gave a great deal of trouble, as we shall see presently, to the church which he professed to serve, speaks, like Martyn, not only of the exact discipline which the Catholic Missionaries maintained, but of his own

(1) *Life of Bishop Middleton*, by the Revd C. Webb Le Bas, vol. I, ch. IX, p. 263.

(2) Vol. II, ch. XIX, p. 96.

misadventures in trying to seduce their flocks. « Their priests guard them well, » he says, « against making enquiries, and have carefully instilled into their minds that we are heretics. » (1) Apparently they had succeeded in producing that conviction.

Mr Thornton, one of the most exact authorities on Indian statistics, while he estimates the population of the Goa district at 313,262, adds, — « of this number *two thirds* are stated to be Christians of the Roman Catholic persuasion; » (2) and an equally impartial witness observes of the same province, « the Roman Catholics have made many converts among the natives, and greatly contributed to their civilisation, and dispersed much of the darkness of Paganism. » (3) Dr Francis Buchanan, speaking of the class who are commonly most defamed by Protestants, and of the several thousand Christians whom he visited at Tulava, the remnant of those persecuted by Tippoo who destroyed all their churches, generously says; « these poor people have none of the vices usually attributed to the native Portuguese, and their superior industry is more readily acknowledged by the neighbouring Hindus than avowed by themselves. » (4) While another English writer, violently anti-catholic, observes generally of the Portuguese, whose noble works it is now the fashion to decry, —

(1) *Asiatic Journal*, vol. XXI, p. 446.

(2) *Gazetteer of India*, by Edward Thornton esq., vol. II, account of Goa.

(3) *Remarks on Mr Twining's Letter*, by a Member of the B. and F. Bible Society, p. 7.

(4) *Journey through Mysore*, etc., by Francis Buchanan M. D., F. R. S., vol. III, ch. XIV, p. 24.

« In their whole course in India the Portuguese have left the traces of conversion ; and around the coast, from the Cape of Good Hope to Canton in China, a distance of twelve thousand miles, the Portuguese language is spoken, and the cross of Christ adored. » (1) « Amidst the ruins into which their temporal possessions have fallen, » says General Parlby, « the vestiges which they have left of their faith seem destined to survive the *débris* of their earthly grandeur, and to be so firmly rooted that they will never be wholly effaced. » (2)

But if almost all Protestant writers who have actually visited India make the same confessions, there are some who have not enjoyed that advantage who venture to use very different language. A clergyman of the Church of England, carried away by the enthusiasm of hate, while he acknowledges the progress of the Catholic Missions in India, adds the following comment . « The Church of Rome must not be confounded with the sublime scheme of Christian missions. She has gone forth, with wondrous zeal and almost unequalled self denial, not to erect the Cross, but only to impose the Crucifix. » (3) It is difficult to attach any meaning to such words, of which the writer is perhaps by this time ashamed. The Crucifix, as he probably knows,

(1) *Fifteen Years in India*, by an Officer in His Majesty's service, p. 360, (1823), Cf. Julius Von Klaproth, in Timkowski's *Travels*, vol. I, p. 51, note.

(2) *The Establishment of the Anglican Church in India*, by Major General Parlby, C. B.; p. 19. (1851).

(3) *The Hand of God in India*, by the Rev^d^ Henry Christmas, Introd. p. 15.

is simply the Cross *plus* the Victim. To which of the two does he object? (1)

The Rev. James Hough, though of the same school with Mr Christmas, so that he ventures even to sneer at St. Francis Xavier, confesses, in a moment of distraction; « it is well known that there are native Christians of the Roman Church in India, especially of the Carmelite mission at Madras, whose character

(1) « Protestant as I am, when travelling or serving in Roman Catholic countries I have felt a wholesome influence from the symbol of our common faith — the crucifix — reared on the lonely roadside or niched in the angle of the crowded street, as is the common practice in nations professing that more demonstrative creed. I can imagine the mind of the reprobate, bent on mischief, being diverted from its purpose by the sudden sight of the rudest image of the cross and passion of Him who died for the sins of mankind. » Colonel Mundy's *Australasian Colonies*, vol. I, ch. VI, p. 210. « To convert the heathen, *practical illustrations* of Christianity are more needed than speech and outward prayer... Their senses must be taken captive as well as their will; otherwise, the impression conveyed will be speedily lost. If the Cross as a means of salvation is to be preached to them, the Cross in a tangible form should be presented before their gaze. They will never understand what you mean without it. » Captain Parker Snow's *British Columbia*, pp. 100, 102. Catholic missionaries have witnessed a thousand times the emotion excited even in the rudest savage by the sight of a crucifix, and pagans of a higher class appear to be equally impressed by it. The Abbé Huc relates the case of a Chinese physician who visited his chapel at Lha-Ssa, in Thibet, where he saw for the first time a crucifix. « Without uttering a single word, he remained motionless, his eyes fixed upon the image of the Crucifixion. He retained this position for nearly half an hour; at length his eyes filled with tears; he extended his arms towards the representation of Christ, fell on his knees, struck the earth thrice with his forehead, and rose, exclaming, *That is the only Buddha that men ought to worship!* » *Travels in Tartary*, etc., vol. II, ch. VI, p. 186, ed. Hazlitt.

is unexceptionable, and who occupy stations of responsibility in the public service... Some have given satisfactory reason to believe them to be sincere Christians. » (1)

Mr Harvard, a Wesleyan missionary, whose own failure seems to have left him abundant leisure to examine the operations of others, ventures to suggest, that probably among the native Christians « there are some who worship God in spirit and in truth; » and even tells us that « the Portuguese Christians, by their neatness and cleanliness, exhibit a pleasing contrast to the external appearance of their heathen neighbours. » (2)

Mr Wylie also, — who has written a work on the Bengal Missions, in which he notices that at Chittagong « the Christians are mostly Roman Catholics, » and that the number of children at the Catholic school « exceeds one hundred, » — supplies fresh evidence of the energy with which they embrace the doctrines proposed to them. « They are restricted, » he says, « from attending Protestant churches or schools, on pain of expulsion from the Church, and denial of the rites of sepulture. » (3) What would they have cared for either, if they had not been devout Christians, who perfectly comprehended the nature of the penalty?

Mr Mullens, again, who was a Protestant missionary, and whose ordinary language about the Catholic

(1) *History of Christianity in India*, vol. II, p. 491.

(2) *Narrative of the Mission to Ceylon*, by the Revd W. Harvard.

(3) *Bengal as a Field of Missions*, by M. Wylie esq., p. 65.

Church is a sort of wild shriek of uncontrollable passion, writes thus; « At the present time, 1854, the Jesuit and Roman Catholic Missions are spread very widely throughout the Madras Presidency. We have nothing like them in North India, except in the neighbourhood of Dacca, at Hussingabad, Furreedpore, and Pubna, where there is a Catholic population of thirteen thousand souls. » But this gentleman deserves further notice. He meets on one occasion some native catholic sailors, who offend him extremely, for « they are in the lowest state of ignorance. » He would have been prudent to have stopped here, but in trying to explain this ignorance, he only proves that it was enlightened piety. « In all their difficulties and dangers, » he continues with horror, « the boatmen uttered but one cry, ' San Javier, ' ' San Javier! ' » Does he suppose that Bossuet or Fenelon would have been ashamed to utter the same cry?

A little later, vexed by the too palpable contrast between such as himself and the Catholic missionaries, he says of the latter,— « I allow that they dress simply, eat plainly, and have few luxuries at home. I allow that they travel much, are greatly exposed, live poorly, and toil hard. I have heard of a bishop living in a cave on fifty rupees a month, and devotedly attending the sick when friends and relatives had fled from fear. » Perhaps you think that all this has touched his heart, and that he is now going to give glory to God? The anticipation would not be unreasonable, but he continues thus : — « All this is much easier on the Jesuit's principles, » — who, he adds, « is supported by motives of self righteousness, » — « than it is to be a faithful minister on the principles

of the New Testament. » (1) One would have thought it easy enough to live luxuriously, receive a large salary, and do nothing, except talk about « the principles of the New Testament. » But enough of Mr Mullens.

Our next witness belongs to the military service of India, is an implacable enemy of Catholics, and declares as follows : — « I speak far within limits when I calculate the number of native Catholics on the coast, and in the countries dependent on Fort St. George, at 350, or 400,000 souls, exclusive of Bednore, Malabar, and the countries formerly converted by the Bishop and priests of Goa. » And then he adds, — « many Catholic missionaries have from thirty to seventy thousand souls, over whom they exercise the most arbitrary and despotic sway. » (2) Henry Martyn, with better judgment, called it « discipline. »

Another, whose testimony refers to the vast diocese of Pondicherry, in which we have seen that more than fifteen hundred converts were received in two years, from 1853 to 1855, thus writes of the Jesuit missionaries. « Whatever the prejudices against the order may be, and however justly incurred, or otherwise, it cannot be denied that the Jesuits were great masters in the art of instruction; and the advances which the Christians of Pondicherry have made in the language and principles of European knowledge, is an eminent proof of the ability of those fathers. » (3)

(1) *Missions in South India*, p. 139.

(2) *Strictures on the Present Government of India*, by an Officer; p. 80.

(3) *Au Essay on the Religious Prejudices of India*, p. 23.

It may be added, that many English writers, and amongst them Captain Hervey, in 1850, attest the striking superiority both of natives and half-castes in the Pondicherry district. (1)

Turning now to another part of India, we may notice the language of the Hon^ble^ F. J. Shore and of Colonel Sleeman with respect to the great Catholic colony, consisting of two thousand families, at Bettiah, north of Chuprah. The former says that their Bishop « had inculcated such sound principles among them, that the Christian converts were far more industrious, as well as more moral, than their heathen neighbours, and were consequently much better off in worldly comforts; » (2) and the latter, who says of their bishop, « this holy man had been some fifty years among these people, with little or no support from Europe or from any other quarter, » gives the following account of his flock, many of whom were employed at that time in the English camp. « Better workmen I have never seen in India, *but they would all insist upon going to divine service at the prescribed hours.* »

Colonel Sleeman adds, that « the native christian servants who attended at the old bishop's table, taught by himself, spoke Latin to him. » (3) An earlier writer had noticed the same interesting community, and its « venerable priest Father Romualdo, » as early as 1816, and then observed, « their numbers are rather augmenting than diminishing. (4)

(1) *Ten Years in India*, vol. II, ch. XI, p. 284.
(2) *Notes on Indian Affairs*, vol. II, p. 468.
(3) *Recollections of an Indian Official*, vol. I, ch. II, p. 17.
(4) *Asiatic Journal*, vol. II, p. 63.

Lastly, the heathen themselves bear witness to the zeal and sincerity of the Catholic native, even while perfectly discriminating, as we shall see more fully hereafter, the real character of the nominal Protestant converts. Long ago, as Mr Forbes confessed, they used to say, « You call yourselves Christians; so do the Roman Catholics who abound in India. *They* daily frequent their churches, fast and pray, etc., » and then, referring to the different habits of Protestants, they would enquire, says Mr Forbes, « whether we really believed our own Scriptures? » (1) And this is once more confirmed, as respects native converts, in our own day. An English writer, who relates in 1859 his conversations with Nobinkissen, an educated Hindoo, not only admits that the latter described the few Protestant converts as reprobates and impostors, who ridiculed in secret the very teachers whose wages they received, but that he frankly allowed, in spite of his pagan animosities, that the *Catholic* neophytes were Christians indeed. Their number, the Hindoo told him, was small, for it is not in Calcutta that the Gospel has free course; but even there, where every influence combines to thwart its progress, the work of the missionary of the Cross attracts the respect of the heathen himself. « Those natives, » Nobinkissen informed Mr Lang, « who *voluntarily* present themselves, are, after a strict examination, and a due warning that they must hope for no temporal advantage, admitted into the Church. »

« And do they have many applications? »

(1) *Oriental Memoirs*, by James Forbes, F. R. S.; vol. III ch. XXVIII, p. 32; ch. XXXII, p, 185.

« Very few indeed, but those whom they admit *do really and truly become Christians.* » (1)

Such, even by Protestant and heathen testimony, are the works of modern Catholic missionaries in India, in spite of their poverty, and of all the varied difficulties which beset their ministry in a country of pagans under a protestant government. « The Roman Catholic missions in India, » says one of the latest writers on that country, « with the most limited means, have had the most signal success. (2) » Yet it would be difficult to conceive a combination of more formidable impediments than those which they now encounter during every hour of their apostolic toils. Opposed by the secret or open hostility of powerful officials, — destitute of temporal resources, — no longer contending only with the prejudices or the vices of the heathen, but with the far more fatal scandal of a nominal and contentious Christianity, which presents itself to him under twenty different forms, and which he contemplates with mingled surprise and contempt, — the conditions of their warfare are less favourable than in the happier days when martyrdom so often crowned its labours, and assured its triumph. It is the mission of England, as we shall see more and more clearly in every chapter of this work, to make the conversion of the heathen impossible. Even St. Paul, and the companions of St. Paul, would hardly have struggled with success against the obstacles, hitherto unknown in the world, which Protestantism creates in every pagan land.

(1) *Wanderings in India*, p. 225.
(2) *Theory and Practice of Caste*, ch. v, p. 130.

When England has no longer an agent or a representative in India, the missionaries of the Cross will once more contend on fair terms with the evil spirits who rule her. Until that hour, which is perhaps not far distant, they must be content to gain a few here and a few there, and to deserve the success which they will not always obtain.

And now we may close our review of Catholic Missions in India. We have traced the outlines of their history, from its opening to its final chapter; and if it does not reveal the presence of God and the operations of His grace, it were vain to ask where we must look for the signs of either. It was the constant and progressive success of the Catholic missionaries in this land which first suggested to Protestants, the story of whose operations will next claim our attention, the attempt to rival them. « The Catholics, ages back, » said a British writer in 1813, « have converted numbers in India; why then should Protestants despair? » (1) He forgot that, to imitate their triumphs, it was necessary to be, in all points, such as they were. The Indian evangelists,—from St. Francis who first led the way to the shores of Asia, to Xavier d'Andrea, the last survivor of that long line of apostles who « by faith conquered kingdoms, » — were men of like passions with ourselves, yet they found strength to lead a supernatural life, and to die as only they can die who, while living, have been « hid with Christ in God. » It is not by such weak words as we know how to use that their career can be worth-

(1) *The Duty of Britons to promote Christianity in India*, by Joseph Barrett; p. 20.

ily described. To God alone it belongs to judge the men whom He made what they were, or to measure the deeds which they could neither have conceived nor executed, without the succour of His grace and the communication of His power and might.

PART II.

PROTESTANT MISSIONS.

We have now, for the second time, to trace a contrast. We have seen what men may become who have been trained in the sanctuary and nurtured at the altar of God, and what they can accomplish; let us enquire, since we have proposed to ourselves this task, what has been effected by others, whose fathers laid waste that sanctuary, and cast the altar to the ground, that their children might tread it under foot.

The first fact which the Protestant writers reveal to us is characteristic, and fitly introduces the strange history which they have published to the world of the fortunes of Protestantism in India. « More than half a century, » they tell us, elapsed from the first appearance of the British in India, » before they thought of erecting a church for them-

selves. » (1) They were not, then, likely to take much trouble about the edification of others; and we are not surprised to learn, that more than a century passed away before they made any attempt whatever to recommend their religion to the pagans among whom they had come to dwell. But even this is not all. During a second period of one hundred years, that attempt, though timid and furtive, was systematically prohibited and punished by the English Government and its agents. « Of the Government of India it may truly be affirmed, » says Dr Close, « and fully established by circumstantial evidence, that its whole weight, influence, and authority, has been directed *against* the progress of Christianity among the heathen. » (2) Such is the opening page of that long history of unexampled shame which we will now read to its last chapter.

« The European nations who succeeded the Portuguese in the dominion of India, » says Mr Hugh Murray, referring to the Danes, Dutch, and English, « felt for a long time a much less ardent zeal for the diffusion of their own purer faith than had animated the latter for the propagation of Catholic observances. » And as if he felt that this hardly expressed the whole truth, he presently adds; « The conduct of the English in India formed a striking contrast to that zeal, however little distinguished by knowledge or choice of means, which had certainly distinguished the Catholic nations. » (3)

(1) *An Indian Retrospect*, by the Dean of Carlisle, p. 6, (1858).

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) *Historical Account of Discoveries in Asia*, vol. II, ch. v, p. 220.

It was not, however, want of zeal only which marked the conduct of the English, nor was this the only feature in the « contrast » between them and their Catholic predecessors. They did nothing, indeed, to promote Christianity, but they displayed abundant and ingenious energy in stifling the voice of its advocates, and sternly prohibiting its progress. For two hundred years it was a maxim with the English of all classes, that no attempt to convert Hindoo or Mahometan should be tolerated. « The fundamental principle of British rule, » said Lord William Bentinck, « *is strict neutrality.* » (1) And in obsequious accordance with this rule, « the East India Company refused all missionaries passages in their ships either to China or India. » (2) In vain a few individuals endeavoured to gain a surreptitious entrance into this forbidden land. « Two missionaries who landed on the banks of the Hooghly were sent back to Europe forthwith in the same ship in which they arrived; » (3) — an effectual admonition to all who might be tempted to imitate their example. In 1812, « the American missionaries, driven to Bombay from Calcutta, *were imprisoned.* When they escaped in a native coasting vessel they were pursued, retaken, and confined to the Fort. » (4) « There was a raid, » as another writer expresses it, « against the missionaries in Bengal, and no less than five, partly Americans, partly English, were

(1) *Asiatic Journal*, vol. XVIII, p. 8.

(2) *The Middle Kingdom*, by S. Wells Williams, vol. II, ch. XIX, p. 325.

(3) *Missions in Bengal*, by J. J. Weitbrecht, ch. v, p. 198.

(4) Close, p. 9.

driven out of the country by the imperative orders of an unyielding Government. » (1) Nor was this vigorous policy abandoned so long as they could venture to employ it. « So late as 1813, not a single missionary could be allowed to go out in a British ship. » (2)

The Dutch, also Protestants, had been not less diligent in fighting against Christianity in India. The East India Company of Holland peremptorily forbade the admission of missionaries into any part of their territories ; (3) and their agents, consistent in all their actions, forcibly seized the Catholic churches on the west coast, and converted them into factories. « The Danish merchants also, » we are told, « occupied only with the interests of commerce, were altogether indifferent to their religious condition. » (4) Such was the conduct of the three Protestant states which had succeeded the Catholic powers in the dominion of India. « The degradation of our religion, » says a Protestant writer, « could scarcely be more complete in the eyes of the heathen. » (5)

Yet even this only faintly represents the policy of Protestant Governments in India. It was possible to devise still more efficacious methods of thwarting the progress of Christianity in India, and they were quickly adopted. « By Government Regulations of 1814, native Christians were debarred from filling any public office of respectability. There is on record

(1) *Christianity in India*, by J. W. Kaye, ch. VII, p. 256.
(2) Close, p. 27.
(3) Smith's *History of the Missionary Societies*, vol. I, p. 206.
(4) Pearson's *Memoirs of Swartz*, Introd., p. 12.
(5) Close, p. 27.

one instance at least, in which a Sepoy was actually dismissed from the army, in consequence of embracing Christianity! » (1) At a meeting of the Church Missionary Society on the 13th of April, 1813, various resolutions were passed, of which the 7th was in these terms. « That this Society has learnt with pain that Christianity is liable to discouragement, in consequence of native converts having been *generally* excluded from those official situations in India which are freely bestowed on Hindoos and Mahometans. » And these amazing proceedings received the sanction and approval of the most eminent English statesmen of India down to the present hour. « I think the English Government in this country, » said Sir John Malcolm, « should never, directly or indirectly, interfere in propagating the Christian religion. » (2) « We abstain, and I trust shall always abstain, » says an official document which bears the illustrious name of Lord Macaulay, « from giving any public encouragement to those who are engaged in the work of converting natives to Christianity. » (3) In 1853, a Director of the East India Company, and not the most obscure amongst them, still repeats; « It appears to me absolutely necessary that we should scrupulously avoid all interference with the religion of the Hindoos. » (4) Lastly, in 1859, Lord Ellen-

(1) Close, p. 27.

(2) Kaye's *Life of Sir John Malcolm*, vol. II, Correspondence, p. 362.

(3) *The Duties of Great Britain to India*, by Charles Hay Cameron, p. 77 ; Cf. p. 149.

(4) *Memorials of Indian Government*, by Henry St-George Tucker, p. 483.

borough gave this advice to the House of Lords. « No measure could be adopted more calculated to tranquillize the minds of the natives, and to restore to us their confidence, than that of witholding the aid of Government from schools with which missionaries are connected. » (1) When the same peer charged Lord Canning with having « subscribed to a Missionary Society, » Lord Lansdowne remarked, in spite of strong personal sympathy with the Indian Viceroy, that if it were true, « he would no longer deserve to be continued in his office as Governor General of India! » (2) At the same moment Mr Kinnaird was informing the House of Commons, that the natives of India, interpreting the Queen's proclamation to « abstain from all interference » with their religion as a rebuke to those who had done so, urged upon the local government, — « that the missionaries were acting contrary to the Queen's proclamation by staying in India, and that therefore it was their duty to drive them away at once. » (3)

In the presence of such facts, we may accept without difficulty the temperate statement of a great Indian authority, and confess, — that « the conduct of the English has not hitherto tended to beget a favourable opinion of their religion in the eyes of the natives; » especially when he adds, from his own experience, that « persecution, both negative and positive, from the English Government, from individuals, and from his own countrymen, is what the native who becomes a convert to Christianity has too

(1) *The Times*, April 16, 1859.
(2) *The Sepoy Revolt*, by Henry Mead; ch. xx, p. 247.
(3) *The Times*, April 16, 1859.

often been exposed to. » (1) Such is the almost incredible history which is emphatically epitomised by Mr Campbell, when he says; « For a very long period, Government regarded and treated Christianity *as a most dangerous innovation.* » (2)

But it was not enough for the power which now possessed India to prefer the interests of commerce to those of religion, and to affect infidelity in order to reign with greater tranquillity over a nation of heathens. It dreaded, indeed, and discountenanced the promotion of Christianity, and banished or imprisoned its advocates; but it willingly became the patron of every foul superstition which found favour with its new subjects. The religion of Christ might prove « a dangerous innovation, » so they made friendship and alliance with the idols of Hindostan. The history of that alliance must be recounted to us by Protestants, since no other testimony than theirs would avail to prove it.

« In former days, » they tell us, « the connection between the Government and the two chief religions of India — Hindoo and Mahometan — was of the closest and most dishonourable kind. At the end of the last century, the pagodas of the Madras Presidency were falling into decay. » It was the British government which promptly arrested their ruin. « Juggernauth fell into the hands of Lord Wellesley, and *pilgrim taxes* were established at Gaya, Puri, and Allahabad. The system soon spread, and at last

(1) *Notes on Indian Affairs*, by the Hon. F. J. Shore, vol. I, p. 458.

(2) *India as it may be*, by George Campbell, ch. VIII, p. 394.

in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies attained a depth of infamy which few in England have ever imagined. Hundreds of officers submitted to it without scruple, helped to extend it, and reaped large gains *from their share in temple management.* We stand amazed at the awful degradation to which the Government descended. » (1)

The Government, we are assured by another writer, even « gave sums of money, according to the request of the priests, for the expenditure of the ceremonies; » (2) so that a protestant missionary exclaims, in alluding to these and similar facts, « Christian England is *the main support* of idolatry in this country. » « The celebrated Jumna Musjid, » says a recent English writer, « the most ancient and splendid mosque in Lahore, was converted by Runjeet Sing into an arsenal. This mosque, immediately after the inauguration of British rule, was, after being put in thorough repair and order, handed over to the charge of the principal Mussulman Moollahs of Lahore, to be *restored* to its original purpose of religious worship! » (3) It is not easy, therefore, to decide whether England displayed most vigour in violently discountenancing Christianity, or in liberally maintaining paganism; nor can we marvel, when a native writer declares, in 1859, while contemptuously scouting the notion that his countrymen regarded missionary operations with any feeling but supreme indifference, — « It is

(1) The *Eclectic*, February 1859, p. 141.
(2) *Orissa*, by William F. B. Laurie, p. 57.
(3) *The English in India*, by Captain Evans Bell, p. 31.

not religion, *but the want of religion*, which has brought so much evil to this country. » (1)

An ardent Protestant, long resident in India, thus records the same class of facts. « The compliances with both Muhammedan and Hindu superstitions, of which men calling themselves Britons and officers have been guilty, are perfectly marvellous. At Delhi is a mosque built by Colonel Skinner; and Englishmen in former days, under the influence of Hindu wives, have been known to paint themselves, and perform Pujah, or worship at the river side like heathens. » (2) We are not, therefore, surprised to learn from General Parlby, that « it was usual for the highest classes of society to accept invitations from opulent Hindoos ' to festivals in honour of the idol —'. » (3)

« The disgusting and gory worship of Juggernaut, » says M^r^ Howitt, « was not merely practised but was actually licensed and patronised by the English Government. It imposed a tax on all pilgrims going to the temples in Orissa and Bengal, appointed British officers, British gentlemen, to superintend the management of this hideous worship, and the receipts of its proceeds. » (4) They even became ingenious, it seems, in multiplying such sources of revenue; for a Protestant missionary informs us, that they also im-

(1) *Thoughts of a native of Northern India*, quoted by Ludlow, *Policy of the Crown towards India*, Letter XV, p. 201.

(2) *Six Years in India*, by M^rs^ Colin Mackenzie, vol. I, ch. VII, p. 313.

(3) *The establishment of the Anglican Church in India*, by Major General Parlby, C. B., p. 115, (1851).

(4) *Colonization and Christianity*, ch. XVIII, p. 295.

posed a tax on those « who desire the privilege of drowning in the Ganges, » and that this scheme was « calculated to yield 250,000 rupees. » This gentleman can hardly be deemed to exaggerate, when he adds, that such proceedings « assimilated professed Christians with idolaters, till the Christian character in India is scarcely distinguishable even in the broad feature of ahborring idols. » (1)

One more witness to these singular facts shall be quoted, because he is supposed to represent, more accurately than any other writer, the opinions of the majority of Englishmen. « The Company, » says this great authority, — beginning with a skilful limitation, — « seem to have thought that they held their position in India upon much the same terms as the Dutch held their footing in Japan, — by tenure of trampling on the Cross. Practically, they worshipped those ugly Indian deities more servilely than their own votaries did. Their only anxiety was to induce the natives to show them what they should honour, what they should salute, what they should respect; and they honoured, saluted, and respected accordingly. This idolatry of other men's superstitions prevalent among the officers of the East Indian service is a mania by no means yet extinct. » (2) This, indeed, is the most wonderful fact of all, — that such things were still possible in the year 1859. « Some time ago, » says the correspondent of the *Times* in India, « an officer marched down his regiment to slaughter the goats sacrificed on the occasion of one of their

(1) *Pilgrim Tax in India*, by J. Peggs, Missionary at Cuttack, p. 41.

(2) *The Times*, March 16, 1859.

festivals. » He adds, that at these religious festivals « the colours were actually carried in front of the idols, and blank cartridges were issued by the commanding officer from the government magazines! The Sepoys attended in full uniform, worshipped the images, and called on them to bless the standards and the arms which they bore in the Company's service.» Mr Russell might well say, « For a Christian people we did very odd things in India; » (1) and perhaps it may even be doubted whether this light rebuke, which appears to have satisfied his temperate indignation, was altogether adequate to the occasion.

Other writers, more impressed by such facts than Mr Russell, though more familiar with them, confirm his statement that these incredible performances of Protestant officials are still repeated in our own day. In 1852, the Calcutta Review contained the following words. « *To this day* the Residents at Nagpore and Baroda, the representatives of the Government, take a share in the heathen festivals. In the Madras Presidency the evil continues to a fearful extent. Down to 1841, more than 400,000 l. a year passed through the hands of the Madras Government, in connection with heathen temples, and the annual *profit* was 17,000 l. » (2) So that an Anglo-Indian writer, alluding to these facts, as well as to what he calls « the measureless folly of our rule; » declares, in 1857, that « had the Sepoys not rebelled, the wrongs of India might have gone on accumulating, until God grew utterly weary of us, » and that « we should have been

(1) *The Times*, April 12.
(2) *The Results of Missionary Labour in India*, p. 47.

cast out from India, a scorn and example to the nations. » (1)

There is nothing, perhaps, in the annals of any Christian people which can even be compared, for enormity of guilt, with the conduct of England during the first two centuries of her dominion in India. « The case, » as one of her own clergy protests, « is without parallel in the history of the Christian religion. » (2) But she can bear burdens which would break the heart of any other nation with tranquil composure, and with an air of candid innocence which would almost deceive the angels. It is true that she some times displays a calm and measured contrition. Once in a long course of years she summons all her people, at the bidding of some sudden panic, to keep solemn fast. On the appointed day, obedient to the edict of her supreme magistrate, she smites her breast, not too rudely, but with cautious and lenient hand; she listens with grave decorum to a preacher whose discreet admonitions might be mistaken for a panegyric; and then goes home, with the cheerful persuasion that the crimes of a century are blotted out. She has appeased, by a suitable effort of national piety, the mild and indulgent divinities to whom she has recourse in her leisure moments.

Such a fast she kept in the year 1858, to commemorate all which she had done in that wide empire which lies between the Indus and the Ganges. A loud

(1) *The Sepoy Revolt, Its Causes and Its Consequences*, by Henry Mead, ch. xv, p. 183.

(2) Close, p. 28.

cry of wailing, a shriek of pain, had been borne through the air, and startled the ears of all her people. Then she fell on her knees, and for a moment seemed to pray : the next, she rose up, and the cry which had come across the great sea waxed fainter, and was heard no more. A few fresh graves, a few widows listening for a voice which they shall never hear again, — these were all the signs which remained to tell that England had received another warning.

But we have little space for reflections on a history of which we have only heard the opening chapter, and which we must now pursue to the end. Two facts have already been proved by sufficient evidence, — the first, that for two hundred years England resisted, even to violence, the propagation of Christianity in India ; the second, that she set up her throne in the temples of idols, and replenished her exchequer by a tax on their worship. We have still a third fact to consider, — before we examine the nature of her missionary efforts, when she could no longer succeed in repressing them, — because it is one which, even if no other blight were upon them, would adequately account for their failure.

« It is by means of the horrid villainies of Christians, » said M^r^ Ziegenbalg, a protestant missionary in India, « that the name of Christ has been made scandalous to a proverb. » This is the fact of which we are now to furnish evidence.

A recent writer on India affirms, mainly as the result of personal observation, that « the conduct of the Europeans, » which term is here a pleonasm for the English, « is such as to make the natives despise

and abhor them. » (1) If we may believe one half of what is reported of that conduct, the native verdict is not deficient in justice. « We have visited every coast, » says a respectable English clergyman, « with a charge indeed to bless, but — must we not confess it? — in reality to curse. » (2) « Our early settlers were often men of intemperate habits and licentious lives, » says the latest historian of India, « outraging decency, and scandalising Christianity. England herself is chargeable with a large share of the vices which her children import into foreign lands. » And then he gives particulars. « It was no uncommon thing for English gentlemen to keep populous Zenanas,.... honourable marriage was the exceptional state. » (3) But it is impossible to give full details of the spectacle which the majority of Englishmen presented to the heathen in their daily life, and which might have made even the Hindoo blush, if such an emotion had been possible to him. Most of them also had the courage to avow openly the unbelief of which their morals were an illustration. « Infidelity is too prevalent in Bengal, » (4) said Lord Teignmouth writing to Wilberforce, so that, he adds, it was considered rather a bold thing to acknowledge the truth of Christianity; and we shall see presently, by an accumulation of perfectly impartial testimony, that the English are rapidly communicating this plague of unbelief to the unfortunate Hindoo.

(1) *Six Years in India*, vol I, ch. VII, p. 333.
(2) *Bampton Lectures for* 1843, Lect. I, p. 31.
(3) *Christianity in India*, p. 101.
(4) *Life of Lord Teignmouth*, by his Son, vol. I, p. 293.

It is to be noted also, that, far from recording any improvement, the latest writers give exactly the same account of the character of their countrymen in India at the present moment, which was given by others in the earlier years of the present century. « The degradation of the native character, » says a gentleman who writes from Calcutta on the 22nd of August, 1859, « produced by the conduct of a very large proportion of Anglo-Indians, cannot fail to cast a stain upon our national character, and is the worst obstacle to the introduction of Christianity. *We have lowered instead of raised the standard of morality.* » (1) We shall find the same complaint of English influence in other lands, though no where in more earnest language than has been used to describe its effects in this. « Of the Europeans in India generally, » says an English writer in 1852, « the truest account would be the most unfavourable. We have heard of some who regard themselves as Hindus rather than as Christians ; of others who deemed Muhammedan festivals fit objects for special patronage; and of others who directly counteracted the instructions of missionaries, by advising young men not to become Christians, and teaching them that Deism was the true religion for men. We have heard, too, of thousands who lived as though they regarded gentleness, mercy, and spiritual worship less than the heathen by whom they are surrounded. » (2)

There are certain maxims implanted in the heart

(1) *Naval and Military Gazette*, p. 635, October 1, 1859.
(2) *The Results of Missionary Labour in India*, p. 7.

of man at his creation, — certain instincts which inform and guide the heathen as well as the Christian, — certain desires and aspirations which lend dignity even to the Hindoo; and all these, we are told by fifty Protestant writers, of various sects, have been systematically outraged by the English in India. Of all the sentiments with which they have inspired the Asiatic tribes, in spite of their affected humility, perhaps none is so universal, none so intense, as the feeling of scorn and contempt. Ludicrous examples are sometimes given by Indian writers of the mode in which they privately vent the disgust which they dare not openly manifest. Thus, at a great banquet, given by a wealthy civilian, who had a splendid establishment, « was extremely particular about high caste servants, and treated them magnificently, » the host went to the kitchen to see why the dinner was delayed. « There he found all his servants standing in a row, with their backs towards him, each man proving his orthodoxy by solemnly spitting in rotation on a fine ham, which was about to be served up to the company. » (1) But we should err in supposing that it is always, or even commonly, religious feeling which inspires such acts. They are often only the expression of angry contempt. The Hindoo judges his master by precisely the same estimate which the latter applies to him. He is not slow to appreciate those who, whatever their defects may be, have the qualities of men. He can esteem, and even love, a statesman like Lawrence, or a soldier like Jacob or Hodson. But

(1) Mackenzie's *Six Years in India*, vol. II, ch. v, p. 140.

when he is outraged in all his instincts by tyrannical triflers, — by masters who have survived the age but not the manners of school boys, — who have none even of the external dignity which orientals so highly esteem and so rarely violate; when he is daily in contact with so-called Christians, whom even his gross nature despises as coarse, vicious, and trivial; is it wonderful that at times his pent up scorn and hate should overflow, and madden him to acts of violence and blood?

It was this mingled loathing and disdain which culminated at last in the great Sepoy rebellion, and which is too characteristic of the influence of Protestant England among pagan nations not to merit fuller illustration.

That « the terrible disaster of 1857 revealed the rapidly growing bitterness against English officers, » (1) is affirmed even by the more intelligent of their own number. Colonel Hunter, repeating words used by Sir John Malcolm fifty years earlier, confesses with sorrow « the feelings of disgust and sometimes of bitter *contempt* » entertained by the natives towards their English chiefs. (2) « The mass of the English officers, *both civil and military*, » says Captain Evans Bell, « detract from the moral strength of England in India, lower the native ideal standard of English ability and honour, and introduce an element of insolence, contempt, and tyranny, which is most dangerous to our power, and derogatory to our national character. The same great vice pervades our

(1) *The English in India*, p. 113,

(2) Ludlow, *Thoughts on the Policy of the Crown*, Letter XXII, p. 299.

entire system. » It is the influx of coarse and vulgar triflers, in both services, which « has led to the establishment of the ' damned nigger ' system, in every department, civil and military. Boys just emancipated from school, who care for nothing but beer and billiards, whose very ignorance of their language and customs makes them dislike and despise their native subordinates, are placed in charge of companies of Sepoys! » And so, when the revolt began which perilled our Indian Empire, and which, we may be sure, is only the precursor of similar outbreaks, « the European officers showed themselves to have no commanding or restraining power over their men, and were invariably, up to the last moment, utterly ignorant of their men's intentions and views. » (1) « They have awakened, » says a native, « even the dreamy Asiatic to anger, and have literally compelled even the Hindu, proverbially meek and patient as he is, to revolt. » (2)

Mr Russell has illustrated, in the most striking passage of his book on India, the feeling of the native towards men who are often, in spite of their profession of Christianity, both morally and intellectually his inferiors. Speaking of the riotous banquets of British officers, he says, « The native servants stand in perfect apathy and quiescence, with folded arms, and eyes gazing on vacancy as if in deep abstraction, and at all events feigning complete ignorance of what is going on around them. » Yet the Hindoo menial, less degraded than his master, is busy with silent

(1) PP. 3-5.
(2) *Causes of the Indian Revolt*, p. 23. (1857).

comments on the ignoble scene. « A native gentleman, » to whom Mr Russell addressed an enquiry on this subject, gave him the following information.

« I will speak the truth, if the Sahib will not be displeased at it. »

« Well, pray speak. I am certain that you will not willingly offend us. »

« Does the Sahib see those monkeys? They are playing very pleasantly. But the Sahib cannot say why they play, nor what they are going to do next. Well, then, our poor people look upon you very much as they would on those monkeys; but they know you are very fierce and strong, and would be angry if you were laughed at. They are afraid to laugh. But they do regard you as some great powerful creatures sent to plague them, of whose motives and actions they can comprehend nothing whatever. » (1)

It is curious to find a British officer recording exactly the same verdict, pronounced by West African natives, upon his military colleagues in that remote spot. « The Mahometans, » says Major Gordon Laing, « view with pity, and frequently with disgust, the levity of the whites; » and then noticing a particular case, in which some of these semi-savages had been listening outside a mess-room to English officers « huzzaing » over their cups, he adds; « The Mandingoes all concurred in one remark, which was thus expressed — ' Great God! since my birth I never saw such Kafirs as the white men! ' » (2)

But there is more to be said on this subject, and

(1) *Diary in India*, vol. II, ch. VIII, p. 149.

(2) *Travels in Western Africa*, by Major Alexander Gordon Laing, p. 389.

on the impression produced upon the natives by English Protestants in India. « Most Europeans, » we are told, « treat the natives more like brutes than men. » (1) Even « the children catch up the strain. I have heard one, five years old, call the man who was taking care of him a ' black brute ', and a ' black rascal. ' » (2) And one who has had ample experience of Indian life, and who gives painful instances of such brutality even on the part of « old officers, who ought to have set a better example, » tells us that the natives say, — « We would rather be as we are than change to a religion of which the professors give us such poor specimens of their sincerity. » (3) Even the missionaries shock them, not only by the « barbarous jargon, » as Mr Irving observes, which most of them speak, but by the luxury and worldliness of their lives. When the Rev. Mr Perceval invited a learned Hindoo to eat as the English do, he answered in these words; « We Hindoos do not bury the dead in our stomachs; we do not make our stomachs into burial grounds. » (4) Even the Kandyans, low as they are in the scale of civilisation, are revolted by their want of temperance, and call them « beef-eating slaves. » (5)

It was in order not to shock such prejudices,

(1) Mackenzie, ch. III, p. 79.

(2) *Observations on India*, by a Resident there many years; p. 149, (1853).

(3) *Ten Years in India*, by Captain Albert Hervey. vol. I, ch. V, p. 104.

(4) *The Land of the Veda*, ch. XII, p. 272.

(5) *Ceylon : An Historical Sketch*, by Henry Marshall, F. R. S. E. Deputy Inspector General of Army Hospitals, p. 83.

which are only a corruption of the great christian law of mortification, that the Catholic missionaries cheerfully acquiesced in a life of unvarying austerity. « It is absolutely necessary, » says one of them, « to embrace this manner of life in order to produce any fruit, since these people have the conviction that they who are the teachers and guides of others should *themselves* lead the most perfect life. » (1) « We eat a little meat when we are in the South, » says a modern missionary, « but in the North we must endeavour to dispense with it, for the pagans never eat it publicly, and profess the utmost abhorrence for the carnivorous propensities of Europeans. » (2) Even this sacrifice the English missionary declines to make, although, as Dr Grant forcibly observes, — « the ability ' to endure hardness ' in a practical way, unthought of now a days, seems to me indispensable; » and then he adds, « missionaries have told me that the idea which the natives have of them is that they merely work for their pay. » (3)

« The English missionaries, » said Jacquemont long ago, « are astonished that they make no conversions! They have wives, horses, servants; they inhabit a commodious mansion, and call themselves missionaries! But there are other missionaries, who traverse the country on foot, and with naked feet, to convert the heathen. *They* have converted numbers, and continue to do so. They imitate the example of the Apostles, and not rarely they share their success

(1) *Lettres Édifiantes*, tome X, p. 282.
(2) *Annals*, vol. I, p. 173.
(3) *Bampton Lectures*, app., p. 316.

also. » (1) M. Barchou de Penhoën makes the same observation at a later date. « Husband and father, linked to all the interests of the world, the protestant minister *cannot* be a soldier of the faith, a crusader of the gospel. » (2) He has chosen a lower calling, and even his co-religionists acknowledge, however unwillingly, that the heathen despise masters who are only men like themselves. Let us hear once more how even English writers judge their own countrymen.

« England's remaining combat must be, » says Mr Raikes, « not only with the cunning, the ignorance, the superstition of her Eastern children, but with the pride, the sloth, and the selfishness of her own sons. » (3) And there is nothing superfluous in the admonition. « The haughty superciliousness, » Mr Shore observes, « the arrogance, and even insolence of behaviour, which the generality of the English think it necessary to adopt towards the natives, by way of keeping up their own dignity, is extremely great. » (4) And innumerable writers repeat the same reproach. « It is in India especially, » says Count Edouard de Warren, once an officer in the British service, « that the certainity of impunity encourages then to commit such insolence and such oppression as might make the angels weep. » (5)

(1) Quoted by De Warren, *L'Inde Anglaise*, tome III, ch. XII, p. 230.

(2) *L'Inde sous la domination Anglaise*, tome II, liv. VIII, p. 134.

(3) *Notes on the North Western Provinces of India*, by Charles Raikes, Collector of Mynpoorie, p. 77, (1852).

(4) *Notes on Indian Affairs*, vol. I, p. 10.

(5) *L'Inde Anglaise*, tome III, ch. XIV, p. 257.

No wonder if it exasperates the Hindoo, or if the educated native bitterly resents the ignorant incapacity of « youthful students, fresh from Haileybury College, possessing nothing more than a smattering of the native language; » (1) for as Mr Lang observes, even as late as 1859, « Not one civilian in a hundred, no matter what his rank or grade, can read and write Hindostanee or Persian. » (2) « A century and more of intercourse, » says a Bengalese Hindu in 1857, « has not made the Hindu and the Englishman friends, nor even peaceful fellow-subjects. Day by day the estrangement is becoming more and more complete. That is your fault. » (3) Is it surprising that the Indian should « earnestly entreat » such teachers of religion as he daily sees « to begin by converting *the Christians* » ? (4) especially when he so thoroughly appreciates their real character, that Dr Claudius Buchanan could say, writing from India to a friend at Cambridge, — « Your profession of the Christian religion *is a proverbial jest throughout the world.* » (5)

We have now sufficiently prepared the way for the important enquiry which we are next to pursue. It is time to enter into the actual details of Protestant missionary efforts in India, to interrogate the agents

(1) *The Civil Administration of the Bombay Presidency*, by Nowrosjee Furdoonjee, Interpreter to H. M. Supreme Court, p. 31, (1853).

(2) *Wanderiugs in India*, p. 213.

(3) *Causes of the Indian Revolt*, by a Hindu of Bengal ; edited by Malcolm Lewin Esq. ; p, 21.

(4) Murray's *Discoveries in Asia*, vol. II, ch. v, p. 224.

(5) Pearson's *Memoirs of Buchanan*, vol. I, p. 183.

employed in them, and to determine, by their own testimony, the results of their labours. As the English did nothing whatever towards the conversion of the Hindoos for nearly two hundred years, we must put them out of sight for a moment, and begin by some notice of the Germans and Danes, who at all events attempted the work which the masters of the country declined to undertake, or only desired to obstruct and defeat.

We are told by Protestant writers that for a very long period « the assistance afforded by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge to the Danish Lutheran missions was the only public effort that was made by members of the Church of England to extend the knowledge of the Gospel beyond the limits of professing Christendom. » (1) This singular fact was noticed in his day by Lord Teignmouth with the following comment. « It is a remarkable circumstance that in the history of those who have devoted themselves to the propagation of the Gospel among nations where it was unknown, the names of divines of the Church of England rarely, if ever, occur. » (2) The complaint is still repeated in our own day. « Our young men, » says D^{r} Tait, protestant bishop of London, « are ever ready to go forth to distant portions of the globe for any secular object, but a difficulty is felt in inducing them to go in the cause of the Gospel. » (3) In India, the Anglican church was obliged to employ Danish and German Lutherans as her representatives, because her own

(1) *The Missionary Crisis*, by the Rev^{d} A. Dallas, p. 6.
(2) *Life*, vol. II, p. 116.
(3) Quoted in the *Times*, February 10, 1860.

members declined to accept the office. Indeed it may be reasonably doubted whether she would ever have undertaken missionary work at all, but for the activity of the various sects to which she had given birth. It was not till these hostile bodies, whose very existence was for the most part a protest against her own apathy, began to fill the world with the clamour of their ceaseless conflicts, that the English Establishment awoke from the slumber which they rudely disturbed, and consented to wage in self-defence, and in other lands, the war which she could no longer confine to her own.

In India her apparition appears to have been even more tardy than elsewhere. « No English clergyman could be prevailed upon to go thither, » says Dr Close; who repeats the statement that « *all* the missionaries helped by the Christian Knowledge Society, » — and, he might have added, by what is called the « Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, » — « were *Lutherans and foreigners.* » (1) We shall presently hear these foreign emissaries taunting their Anglican employers with the fact, and using it to justify their attacks upon a church of which, notwithstanding, they were the recognised ministers! « For a long time, » Dr Close informs us, « they could not get a single missionary to go out. They sent an English clergyman to Calcutta in 1789, but he deserted soon after his arrival. » This was discouraging, and so, « in 1797, they sent another, a German, but he also deserted. » (2) Yet there was

(1) Close, p. 20.
(2) *Ibid.*, p. 11.

maker journeymen, not able to go on with their profession, go to Basle under the pretext of being converted, in order to become missionaries. » Dr Wolff regrets also that « they learn to live luxuriously, » and even that « the way in which workmen of different descriptions are taken up, ordained ministers, and sent out as missionaries, merely because they can speak a little on the subject of religion, has frequently turned to the destruction of their own souls, by puffing them up with pride. » (1) However, as the Church of England could procure no others, she sent German and Danish Lutherans, a few of whom, confining ourselves to the most conspicuous, we will now observe at their work.

The only names which have any claim to our notice are those of Kiernander, Ziegenbalg, Kohloff, Rhenius, and Schwartz; upon each of whom, except the last, a very few words will suffice, because they will exhaust their meagre and unprofitable history.

Mr Kiernander, whose « chivalrous and romantic career » excites the admiration of Dr Close, apparently because he « walked in silver slippers, » (2) was the friend of Clive, and « was smiled upon by Governors and Council, and even by the Directors at home. » The Dean of Carlisle thinks that the labours of this « rich and fashionable missionary » were « not without spiritual fruit. » Let us enquire, then, how he became rich, and what where his labours. We shall quote, according to our custom, only Protestant authorities.

(1) Wolff's *Journal*, p. 332.
(2) *Indian Retrospect*, p. 11.

« The English had driven away the Portuguese Catholics, and Kiernander was put in possession of their church, which was commodious and airy. » (1) Such was the beginning of this gentleman's career, who was now appointed « English Chaplain » at Fort William, but who had never the slightest pretention to the title of « missionary, » with which he has been superfluously decorated. The Chaplain at Fort William next married « a lady with a sufficient dowry, » with whom he had been accustomed, we are told, to exchange significant glances from his reading-desk or pulpit, so that his congregation had confidently predicted the matrimonial climax which ensued. This lady unfortunately died, and Kiernander sought consolation elsewhere. « A similar religious love-making to that which had united him to Werdena Fischer, » says his admiring biographer, « made him triumph over the yielding heart of Mrs Ann Wooley, a wealthy widow. » She also had frequented the church at Fort William, from which the Catholics had been expelled to make room for her suitor; and in that church, once used for other purposes, a second courtship found a « commodious » field of action, and terminated as prosperously as the first. The lady, we are told, « was fat and unwieldy, » but this inconsiderable drawback did not arrest Mr Kiernander, for « by this marriage he acquired about 25,000 l., » and money bore a high rate of interest in India. « He was now enabled to keep a splendid table and to live in a superb house. » The « excellence of his wines » was famed even in Eng-

(1) *Asiatic Journal*, New Series, vol. XV, pp. 67 et seqq.

land, « and reports soon reached the Society in England of the luxurious living of their missionary, nor was the frequency of his entertainments forgotten. » But this was pure malevolence, for, as his generous biographer adds; « there was no defection from his high calling in these hospitalities, » and the rich and fashionable missionary was still « intent on imparting the sacred truths of Christianity. » Which of those truths his own manner of life specially illustrated, the biography does not explain. Perhaps St. Paul would rather have approved the rice and bitter herbs which formed the sole diet of a St. Francis, a Borghese, a Mamiani, and others; though *they* were members, unlike Kiernander, of the highest order of nobility, and had abandoned, what he never possessed, rank, dignities, and honours, for the love of Him who became poor for their sakes.

But the fabulous prosperity of the Chaplain at Fort William was not destined to last long. Costly wines and frequent entertainments have ruined ampler fortunes than his; and so, having done honour to many a banquet, and sorely mutilated many a text, and otherwise acted in a manner altogether worthy of his « high calling, » he reverted to his first estate, came to poverty and a dishonourable old age, and departed out of this life. Neither Hindoo nor Mahometan had learned from his lips the way of truth, and even if they had been conversant with his somewhat jovial career, were not likely to have been much impressed by it.

Of Ziegenbalg but little need be said, for it does not appear that his life supplies any material for history. He does not even profess to have succeeded in

converting the heathen, though he seems to have complained, with reason, that « the hindrances resulting from the vicious lives of Christians in these parts, besotted with the pursuit of pleasures and riches, » were fatal to any such attempt.

Of Kohloff also there is nothing more impressive to report than what the biographer of Schwartz relates of him, as if it summed up the whole of his career; « Kohloff lived to see his son diligently engaged in the English mission, and the rest of his family comfortably provided for. » (1)

The missionary career of of Mr Rhenius deserves more notice, on account of the lively illustration which it affords of the inconvenience of employing Lutheran ministers as clergymen of the Church of England. In this respect it is curious and instructive. « Rhenius, with some of his German coadjutors, » says Blumhardt, « broke off his connection with the Church Missionary Society; » (2) and Mr Rhenius tells us himself, with great plainness of speech, why he did so. He, like so many of his countrymen, — not in India only, but in Europe, Africa, and America, in which latter country the established church employed Dutch Calvinists to do its work, — (3) was a clergyman of the Church of England; but he did not conceive that this superficial tie obliged him to accept her doctrine. He wrote, therefore, with considerable vehemence against that Church; and so popular were his invectives among

(1) Pearson's *Memoirs of Swartz*, vol. II, ch. XVI, p. 129.

(2) Blumhardt, *Christian Missions*, p. 39.

(3) *Discoveries of the English in America*, in Pinkerton's Collection, vol. XII, p. 413.

his colleagues that « five episcopally ordained missionaries of Tinnevelly signed their names to the declaration, ' *there is no episcopal feeling here.*' » (1) And so, when he was accused of insubordination, he gave the following triumphant reply. « I was in no wise bound to the Church of England, but came out to the mission field in the capacity of a Lutheran clergyman, just like the many German missionaries who, before me, had been sent out to India by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. » And then he adds, with calm indifference, — « I published a little book, pointing out certain errors in the forms of the Church of England, in the same way as I have published many other little books against errors in other bodies of men. » (2) It is a well known habit of gentlemen of this school to « publish little books » against the religious opinions of the rest of mankind. A good portion of their lives is generally consumed in that occupation; and the Church of England was perhaps imprudent in employing men who were not likely to make any exception in her favour. Heber discovered the error, as we shall see when we come to examine his testimony, but failed to remedy it. And in 1834, we find the Protestant bishop of Calcutta complaining in a circular to his clergy, « I discovered a system at work in direct opposition to our Protestant Episcopal Church, by the members of which they were sent out. » (3) He does not seem to have suspected that the fault was in those who sent them. If the Protestant Episcopal Church chose to employ

(1) *Asiatic Journal*, vol. XVI, p. 164.
(2) Vol. XX, p. 152.
(3) Vol. XVII, p. 233; New Series.

men who repudiated her doctrine and scoffed at her « orders, » she had evidently forfeited all right to censure them. Yet this incredible system, strikingly characteristic of the real nature of the Anglican Church, is still maintained all over the world, at the present hour, to the great amazement of other protestant sects, as we shall see hereafter, whose members taunt her with a fact peculiar to herself among all christian communities. In 1844, Mr Weitbrecht, a Church of England missionary in India, is still boastfully exclaiming, — « While England has supplied the means, *our German Lutheran churches have supplied the men;* » (1) and in 1851, an Anglican in India repeats the ludicrous complaint, that the Lutherans « are using all their exertions to draw away as many of our people as they can. » (2)

We have only to add of Mr Rhenius, that « the Tinnevelly Mission broke off all connection with the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and started on its own account, » under the auspices of Rhenius and his « episcopally ordained » friends; an event which may have been instructive to the heathen, but would hardly persuade them to exclaim, as their forefathers did, « see how these Christians love one another. »

Mr Schwartz is the last of the German or Danish missionaries whom we shall notice. As far as can be judged from such materials as we possess for estimating his character, he was a man of pure intentions, honest zeal, and active industry. His notions of

(1) *Missions in Bengal*, ch. VII, p. 328.
(2) *Colonial Church Chronicle*, vol. V, p. 379.

Christianity were such as were proper to his class,— vague, distorted, and incomplete; but such as they were, he was sincere in proclaiming them. He often mistook emotion for faith, and except the historical doctrine of the life and death of the Redeemer, of whom he knew only what can be known to men in his condition, his creed contained no article. The Holy Catholic Church and the Communion of Saints, the Sacraments which are the inventions of Divine love, the Great Sacrifice of the New Law, the Priesthood after the order of Melchizedek, these were to his apprehension less than fables, — they were gross errors. In his age Protestants knew no more of that Church in which the life of Christ is renewed and perpetuated, than the savage who wanders, unconscious of God and of his own soul, by the shores of the Pacific; or rather, they regarded her with exactly the same feelings of ignorant suspicion, and superstitious fear, which the heathens of the first three centuries felt towards her. When Schwartz says of Catholics, « They are of their father the devil, and the pope, » (1) he was probably rather repeating what he had heard from others, than uttering a conviction to which he had been led by study and reflection. It was the wretched jargon of his age, and we may believe in charity that he spoke it mechanically. Schwartz had strong religious instincts, and apparently a moral purity far above most of his order. What he knew, or thought he knew, he honestly desired to impart to others; and if he failed as a missionary, it was not for want of sincerity or upright-

(1) Pearson's *Memoirs*, vol. I, ch. IX, p. 277.

ness. What he lacked was precisely that treasure of which he never knew his need, — the gift of divine faith, and the mission which God has resolved to bestow only in His Church. For want of these, his work came to naught, and his excellent qualities, which attracted the respect of all who knew him, were only like the perfume of wild flowers which is wasted in the thankless air. How immeasurably superior he was to almost all his fellows is proved by the fact, that « he was decidedly unfriendly to the marriage of Missionaries, upon the elevated principle suggested by the great Apostle to the Gentiles, I Cor. VII, 32. » (1)

This is perhaps the most notable circumstance in his history, for that he failed, from first to last, to renew the triumphs of the Catholic apostles, or to effect any real and lasting conversions, is admitted both by himself and his warmest admirers. Lord Valentia, who speaks with deserved kindness of « the respectable Danish missionary, M^r^ Schwartz, » and praises the zeal of his companions, says; « So little, however, has been their success in conversion, though labouring with every advantage, that the hope of succeeding among other missionaries must be small indeed. » He then recounts what the Rajah of Tangore had done to aid them, and adds, — « Is it possible that more than this can be done to give Christianity a fair chance in India? Yet how few have been the number of the converted! » (2)

It must be allowed that Schwartz had more than

(1) Vol. II, ch. XXI, p. 346.
(2) Lord Valentia's *Travels*, vol. I, ch. VI, p. 316.

a « fair chance, » so far as human means could give it to him. « He so conciliated the esteem of one monarch of Tanjore, » we are told, « as to obtain from him an appropriation of five hundred pagodas annually, for the support of the missionaries. » (1) It is true that his patron had strong motives for this unusual benevolence, as Schwartz seems, by his influence with the Government to have procured for him the dignity which he held, in the place of his rival, Ameer Sing. The Rajah had good reason to be grateful.

Schwartz was also the first who received direct pecuniary support from the English Government. It is a mistake, however, to suppose that he initiated the mission of Tanjore with which his name is connected. « You have heard, » says Dr Claudius Buchanan, « that Mr Schwartz was useful in the southern part of Hindostan. It is true. But Mr Schwartz entered upon the labours of others. The gospel had been preached in that quarter near one hundred years past. » (2)

Schwartz often complained, like Ziegenbalg, of the difficulties created by the immorality of Christians. The son of a Nabob of the Carnatic, struck with his profession of piety, said to him ; « We always regarded you Europeans as a most irreligious race of men, unacquainted even with the nature of prayer. » The Brahmins also used to say to him, « Should you not first endeavour to convert the Christians, before you attempt to proselyte the pagans? » (3) And when one

(1) *Christianity in India*, by J. W. Cuningham, M. A., p. 136.
(2) Pearson's *Memoirs of Buchanan*, vol. I, p. 171.
(3) *Memoirs of Swartz*, vol. I, ch. xx, p. 311.

day he told a Hindoo dancing master and his female pupil, that « no unholy person shall enter into the kingdom of heaven; » « Alas! Sir, » said the pupil, « in that case hardly any European will ever enter it, » and passed on.

And now a word about the « converts » of this well intentioned man. A writer who lived long in the same part of India says, — « The numbers he did convert were so inconsiderable, that the advocates for missionary exertions, while they pronounce those eulogiums on his character which it so justly merits, carefully avoid all mention of the success of his public mission. » (1) Mr Montgomery, who was private secretary to the Governor General, said of his nominal converts; « Mr Schwartz could not have any reason to boast of the purity of his followers; *they were proverbial for their profligacy.* » (2)

To this fatal criticism Schwartz only answered by a *tu quoque*, and the prompt retort, that they were no worse than those of other people. Captain Seely relates the following anecdote in illustration of their real character. He met « a party of eight highly respectable Hindoos and Mussulmans in the garden house of the venerable Shah Safit. » To this company the Captain recommended the claims of the Christian religion upon the respect of all mankind. « Upon my mentioning the well known name of Schwartz, » he says, « the company said that no real converts had ever been made; that those who had professed Christ-

(1) *Observations on the present state of the E. I. Company*, by Major Scott Waring, p. 47; 4th edition.

(2) *Apology for the Christian Missions to India*, by Andrew Fuller; app. p. 3.

many were men who had lost their caste for crime, or some abomination, or those who having nothing to lose by the change, born polluted, and always avoided by all other ranks, would wish to assume another character, and that was always attainable by their becoming Christians. But even with this wretched people, our success, dishonourable as the converts were, was very trifling: and many, finding that nothing was to be gained by the change, and that the promises held out to them had not been fulfilled, relapsed into their former state. » (1)

Schwartz himself seems to have frankly confessed his failure, when he said, writing from Tanjore to Chambers, « I wish I could send you a list of *real* converts.... but alas! how rare are these! » (2) And even such as they were, they were evidently paid for their profession, for his biographer confesses that « Schwartz obtained from the Government a monthly allowance of forty pagodas for *the Protestant poor*, » — i. e. the converts, — « at Nagapatam. » Finally, if we enquire what was the definitive result of his labours, his successors are willing to inform us without the least reserve. « Tyerman and Bennett, » two Protestant ministers, « affirm, in 1839, that ' no vital religion is found in *any* of the preachers or native christians of Tanjore;' » (3) and Mr Clarkson, a missionary in India, adds, in 1850, this final comment upon the boasted mission of Schwartz. « The history of Indian missions shews that several places,

(1) *The Wonders of Elora*, ch. XIX, p. 468.

(2) Pearson, vol. I, ch. XIII, p. 380.

(3) *Travels in S. Eastern Asia*, by the Revd Howard Malcolm, vol. II, ch. II, p. 74.

which once ' seemed the garden of the Lord,' have become again a wilderness. In Southern India ' *a Tanjore Christian* ' *became a bye word.* » (1) Such have been the admitted results of all his toil. « No missionary, » says Mr Charles Ross, « ever acquired the influence which he did... He was indefatigable in his endeavours to promote Christianity, but his exertions did not produce much fruit. » (2)

That Schwartz, in spite of his integrity and zeal, the succour of English authorities, and the patronage and protection of natives of rank, should have failed so signally, is only a new proof that the effectual conversion of souls, which is as great a miracle as the creation of a world, is not to be accomplished by such instruments. The Catholic missionaries, as we have seen, succeeded *in spite of* the combined opposition of all the influences, which were constantly, but vainly, exerted *in favour of* Schwartz. The failure of one missionary of his stamp is a more impressive fact, and more suggestive of pregnant conclusions, than the misadventures of a thousand luxurious men like Kiernander, or conceited ones like Rhenius.

It is now time that we should speak of England's own share in the work of Indian missions, and of the efforts which she originated or subsidised, when she at length rose up from her long slumber of two hundred years. If she had taken any part in missionary operations at an earlier period, it would have been due to her to give it the first place in our review; but as her own agents hardly came on the scene before the

(1) *India and the Gospel*, by the Revd William Clarkson, Lecture VI, p. 323.

(2) *The Cornwallis Correspondence*, vol. I, ch. IX, p. 240.

present century, there was no need to anticipate their reluctant apparition.

It was certainly not too soon for England to offer some atonement for the past. We have seen that it was long before she even suffered a missionary to enter her territories, and when at last she consented to admit them, they were not unfrequently men of tainted character and questionable antecedents. « Missionaries have gone out, » says Mr Cunningham, « and from this country, who have dishonoured their great cause, and rather confirmed than shaken the superstitions of the people they visited. » (1) Yet there have never been wanting men in England to protest, with perfect sincerity, against such hirelings, and to cry aloud, though almost always in vain, for a nobler race of missionaries, to represent with greater dignity to the heathen world their religious opinions. Rarely indeed has the call been heard, and then rather by accident than design, and never with any result but to show, — that even the highest gifts, both moral and intellectual, when divorced from the service of the Church and dedicated to the interests of a sect, may indeed give lustre to individual character, but are too weak to win souls to Christ. We are about to consider one of the most affecting examples of this truth. The most conspicuous name, perhaps, in the Indian annals of Protestantism, is that of Henry Martyn, and it is one which deserves, on several accounts, our careful consideration.

If there is any name which Protestants would

(1) *Christianity in India*, p. 147.

unanimously agree to inscribe in the foremost rank of honour, and accept as a type and symbol of what they deem the highest development of the christian character, it is probably that of Henry Martyn. No other, perhaps, has attracted such general sympathy, or been invoked with such universal applause. What, then, was the rare distinction, the peculiar eminence of moral dignity or spiritual grace, of which this popular sentiment is the witness and expression? It was impossible for the annalist of Indian Missions to avoid this question, and it can only be answered by a candid examination of the facts of a life which has often been regarded by Englishmen with an almost romantic interest.

Perhaps the writer may be permitted to say, that he did not approach this investigation without sharing, in some degree, the partial impressions, almost the prejudices, of his countrymen. Catholics are so far from refusing to acknowledge the graces which are sometimes found outside the Church, or confessing them grudgingly, that they search for them with an almost credulous desire, and exult in the discovery of them as in their proper happiness, because it is only where grace and virtue are that they can hope for conversion to the truth. And for this reason they are slow to admit that they have been deceived. They are willingly beguiled by that charity which « hopeth all things; » and when some cruel delusion is exposed, some popular idol stripped of its seeming beauty, some reputed saint dragged from his unmerited niche, *they* only are the real mourners, for they feel, with reason, that the loss is theirs.

If we would know what was the true character

of the most celebrated of Protestant emissaries, of one who has not only been compared to the noblest apostles of the Church but often preferred before them, we must accept the testimony of Protestants. We have no other witnesses, nor could we use them if we had. It is from his own friends and companions that we must derive all our knowledge of him, and to them we are now going to listen.

The common opinion of Martyn is, that he was truly an apostolic missionary, — that he went to India in the loftiest spirit of self-sacrifice, — and that, being there, he did all which could be done by an uninspired man. The truth is, as revealed by himself, and by his most enthusiastic panegyrists, that he was never a missionary at all, in any sense whatever, — that he quitted his country from motives which, however respectable, might have influenced the meanest of mankind, — and that to the day of his death he was so far from converting a single soul, that long and familiar intercourse with him actually drove back into apostasy the man who was his most intimate associate, the partner of his daily life, and the sharer of his toils. And first, he had no pretention whatever even to the title of a missionary.

Mr Kaye, whose qualifications as a witness are unexceptionable, — since, on the one hand, he calls Martyn « a hero and a martyr, » and a good deal more to the same purpose, and on the other, speaks of the Catholic Church in language which is almost maniacal, writes as follows. « Henry Martyn, like Brown and Buchanan, like Thomason and Corrie, was a *Chaplain* on the establishment, and in no ac-

cepted sense of the word a missionary. It was not his mission to preach the Gospel to the heathen, but to perform church service in the presence of the Company's servants, to marry them, to bury them, and to baptize their children. » (1) And not only was he never a missionary, nor ever gave his friends the slightest pretext for calling him one, but his motive for going to India, as revealed to us by his biographers, was such as we can only relate on their responsibility. It is said, indeed, that he abandoned the fair prospects which his great abilities and successful academical career opened to him in England, and this is perfectly true. Others have done the same, but were never on that account deemed apostles. And when we turn to the record of his life, we do not advance beyond the « table of contents, » before we learn what sent him to India. In Mr Sargent's enthusiastic memoir, which eulogises all that he ever said or did, we read, almost in the title page, this fatal disclosure; — « Visits London respecting a Chaplainship to the East India Company, *in consequence of pecuniary losses.* » And even this fact, which furnished indeed an adequate motive of prudence for going to India, but a very slender claim to the character of an apostolic missionary, does not reveal the whole truth. Mr Kaye supplies further evidence, chiefly, as it seems, on the authority of Mr Simeon, who was Martyn's friend and adviser. The story is painful and humiliating, but too characteristic of Protestantism and its favourite heroes to be omitted.

(1) Ch. VI, p. 184.

Martyn had formed an attachment, we are told, to a young lady, who, in the words of Mr Kaye, « did not love Henry Martyn, » but was attracted towards some other man whom her mother deemed ineligible. The young lady's conduct we need not discuss. Whether, as some say, she only objected to accompany Martyn to India, or Mr Kaye's account be the true one, is not of the slightest importance. But we could hardly restrain a smile, if the rising mirth were not checked by graver thoughts, when we read the story of her lover's proceedings, as recounted by men who would have us believe that he was of the school of the apostles. Never did an excited and impassioned boy, just emerged from pupillage, display less dignity of character, less of that self-control against which even the most ordinary men blush to offend, than this celebrated person. We seem, as we pursue the narrative of his biographers, to be reading rather some fashionable romance than the life of a Christian missionary. And so far was he, as some imagine, from sacrificing this ill-fated passion to the desire of preaching to the heathen, that even after he had resolved to visit India, « in consequence of pecuniary losses, » his only thought was how he could gratify it, and still win the reluctant maiden who cast so dark a shadow over his after career. The ship in which he embarked was detained at Falmouth by adverse winds; and this involuntary exile, whose soul we are told was filled only with high thoughts of missionary enterprise, hastily left the vessel, and to relieve « his lacerated heart » hurried back to seek one more interview, and try one last effort, with his obdurate mistress. Foiled in this final

suit, « he wept and groaned, » says Mr Kaye, « till he was weary of his crying; till his throat was dry, and his eyes failed him. » (1) And this, we are to believe, was an apostolic missionary!

It is difficult to bring home to the mind of a Protestant, — who rejects as fanciful and unreal the « counsels of perfection, » knows nothing of the triumphs of divine grace, and suspects that all men share his own infirmities, — the contrast between Catholic and Protestant missionaries. Yet even the least spiritual of men, even the jester and the libertine, will confess, that he cannot imagine St. Paul, when about to sail for Cyprus in order to evangelise the heathen, taking advantage of a foul wind to quit the sea-coast and hurry back to Antioch, in order to make a lover's last appeal to a disdainful or a capricious girl. You feel that such a thought is ludicrous and profane. It outrages all your perceptions of what is congruous and true; it cuts to the quick the most refined and sensitive emotions of your soul. And you confess that a similar story related even of the most obscure catholic missionary, of this or any other age, would excite almost the same feelings, and be received only with a smile, — so monstrous is its improbability. Such is the instinctive testimony of the Protestant world, though it regards similar conduct even in the greatest of its own heroes as perfectly natural and becoming. Whence this prodigious contrast? How is it that the Catholic missionary is *always*, in the manner of his life, such as St. Paul or St. Barnabas, and the Protestant *never?* What explanation can you propose of this incontestable fact

(1) Ubi supra.

short of the confession, that the gifts and graces proper to an apostle are still present with the first, and ever wanting to the last; that is, that God is with the one, and not with the other?

Mr Martyn in due time accomplished his voyage. Arrived in India, he seems only to have excited among his fellow clergy « unseemly pulpit contentions. » Such was the first effect of his presence. Even on the journey out he had failed, by his violence and want of judgment, to attract his fellow passengers. « It was a failure, » says Mr Kaye, « to be utterly deplored. » While still at home he had been rebuked for the indiscreet vehemence with which he recommended his own views of religion, and he had not yet learned the calm wisdom which, while it disdains compromise, knows how to deal mercifully with the infirmities of others. He was intemperate and unconciliating, as tempestuous in his religious emotions as he had been in his passions and affections. And this was the impression which he seems to have produced, while in India, even upon persons disposed to judge him favourably. Sir James Mackintosh, no unskilful or captious judge, records this opinion of him. « His meekness is *excessive*, and gives a disagreeable impression of *effort* to conceal the passions of human nature. » (1) And Captain Seely, whose sympathies were always with such men, while lamenting that the clergy were too often « uncourteous among those who could and would have aided their labours, » adds; « of which the late Mr Martyn was a proof. » (2) Even his ad-

(1) Kaye's *Life of Sir John Malcolm*, vol. II, ch. II, p. 64.
(2) *Wonders of Elora*, ch. XIX, p. 521.

mirers notice with regret his changeful and restless temper. « Sometimes sanguine and hilarious, » says Mr Kaye, « at others despairing and dejected. His soul never rested. » And he completes the picture by these touches. « Ever alive with emotion, trembling with deep joy or deeper sorrow, with wild hope or profound despair. » This hardly agrees, it must be confessed, with that type of evangelical piety and holy equanimity which St. Paul has described, and which even persons of ordinary virtue are accustomed to exhibit. The true missionaries of the Gospel are not one thing to day and another to morrow, nor does the closeness of their union with God depend upon the state of their health, the fitful coming and going of emotion, or the condition of their domestic affairs. *Their* feet are planted on a rock against which the waves vainly beat; and if the tenor of their life does not prove this to you, ask for further evidence in their death.

We need hardly stay to enquire what was actually accomplished by Mr Martyn in India. On this point there is not even any dispute. Though he possessed the highest human qualifications, — great ability and extensive attainments, — so that, when in Persia, « the acuteness of his reasoning, combined with the perfect knowledge he possessed of Persian and Arabic, often confounded the most learned advocates of the Koran, » (1) — yet so utterly without even the appearence of results were all his efforts, that his biographer gives up this part of the case as hopeless.

(1) *Travels in the Persian Provinces*, by James B. Fraser, ch. XXI, p. 307.

He even attempts to forestall every enquiry on this capital point as unreasonable and profane. « If success be demanded, » he says, with an evident apprehension lest any should apply that unwelcome test, « it is replied, — that this is not the enquiry with Him ' of whom are all things, ' either in this world, or in that which is to come. With Him the question is this : What has been aimed at? What has been intended in singleness of heart? » (1) We have seen, however, that there is another class of labourers, who, not content with good aims and intentions, know how to accomplish results also, and having planted and watered, reap in due season fruitful harvests; — so that, in spite of the absence of all those temporal advantages which Martyn and his companions enjoyed, » no missionary converted less than a thousand pagans annually. »

The sum of Martyn's success, as avowed by himself, is limited to « one old woman, » who, he « thought, » was seriously impressed; while all that his biographer ventures to say is, that « at Shiraz a *sensation* has been excited. » « Whatever he did, » says a well known Protestant writer, « he did it with all his might, and yet he failed; he made very few converts, and was obliged to acknowledge in his Journal and Correspondence, that he could discern but few visible effects of his ministry. » (2) Lastly, he says of himself; « I am much neglected on all sides, and without the work of translation, I should fear my presence in India were useless. » Yet even

(1) *Memoir of Rev^d H. Martyn*, p. 482.
(2) *Quarterly Review*, n° 25, p. 443.

of his translations a Protestant missionary says,— « Henry Martyn's Persian Testament is wholly incomprehensible to vulgar readers. » (1)

And now we come to the story of Sabat, the most remarkable incident in Martyn's career, and perhaps in the annals of Protestant missions. Sabat was an Arabian Mahometan, who had received baptism from Dr Kerr, and made « a public profession » of Christianity. Dr Claudius Buchanan says his conversion was « as evidently produced by the Spirit of God, as any conversion in the primitive church. » (2) He was employed for a long period by Martyn to assist him in his translations, lived under the same roof, and was the daily and hourly witness of his life and labours. « Mr Martyn, in his latest letters, » says Buchanan, in 1809, « speaks of Sabat in terms of affection and admiration. » « The great work which occupies the attention of this noble Arabian, » says Martyn himself, « is the promulgation of the Gospel among his own countrymen. » (3) What, then, was the effect upon this generous and ardent convert of the intimate converse which so long subsisted between himself and Martyn, and the knowledge which he acquired, from daily observation, of his labours and their results? Mr Martyn's journal supplies the answer to this question. The « perfect inutility » of his preaching, which could not be concealed from his companion, produced the first unfavourable impression on his mind. Then Sabat would ridicule his small and gradually diminishing congre-

(1) Malcolm's *Travels in S. Eastern Asia*, vol. II, p. 307.
(2) *The Star in the East*, A Sermon by Revd C. Buchanan, p. 29.
(3) *Ibid.*, p. 26.

gation, and Martyn, mortified by his failure, would retort bitterly. « He may spare his sarcastic remarks, » writes the latter, « *as I suppose that after another Sunday none at all will come.* » (1) Finally, Sabat, penetrated to his inmost soul with contempt, recoiled from what he seems to have considered a transparent imposture, and relapsed into Mahometanism. Thus was Martyn not only unable to win converts himself, but the daily experience of his incapacity, and perhaps the near contemplation of his wayward and imperfect character, actually drove back into apostasy one who had been converted by others.

We have dwelt longer upon the history of Martyn than can be attempted in the case of others, on account of the remarkable lessons which it conveys. It would be superfluous to offer any comments upon the facts of his career. If we cannot think without sadness of his wasted talents, and the high qualities which availed him so little, at least his failure excites in us no other feeling than sorrow. We can speak no harsh word of him, though he feared not to brand with the horrible name of « Antichrist » that Holy Church, in which he would have attained the rest and peace which he sought so passionately but knew not where to find, and whose blessing would have given him strength to effect the work which, for want of it, he left undone. And so, after years of pain and disquietude, — of what his biographer calls « mixed emotions » and « acute mental misery, » — he came to his end; full of good desires and intentions, which, we may well hope, were less unpro-

(1) *Memoir*, p. 288.

fitable to himself than to others. Poor victim of an earthly religion, which has no medecine for sick souls like his; and though it talks to its votaries of a far-off Saviour, can neither win Him to them, nor guide them to Him; which feeds them on empty wind, or emptier words; and when at last it hides them out of sight in the silent grave, has done no more for them than when it received them, naked and forlorn, as they came from their mother's womb. In such as Martyn we see how it does its fatal work, marring all natural gifts, however fair and noble, because it knows not how to add to them those which are supernatural. He was of that class of whom earthly religions have produced so many, who pant after excellence which they can never attain; whose very prayer is wild and tempestuous, more full of wailing than of trust, more like the « exceeding bitter cry » of the disinherited son than the loving confidence of the true heir; and whose piety, even in its best form, resembles rather the fluctuating ebb and flow of emotion and sentiment, the fitful caprice of human passion, than that deep rest in the Holy Ghost which none may find but in the Church of God. To such as these it is not given to win souls. They are too slenderly equipped with apostolic graces to succeed in apostolic warfare. How should they vanquish demons, or break the fetters of their captives, who have not even learned to overcome themselves?

The name of D^r^ Claudius Buchanan would hardly require special notice in these pages, since he was still less a missionary than Martyn, but that he has shared with the latter, one knows not why, the

ardent eulogies of Protestants, and furnished a theme to enthusiastic biographers. A Protestant historian speaks of Buchanan, with « Heber, Spencer, and Carr, » as « enduring as true a martyrdom » (1) as any of the Jesuits, and considers their success *more* conspicuous. We can hardly refuse, therefore, to notice the object of such unusual praise. Mr Kaye, whose infelicitous fate it seems to be to defile, one after another, the heroes of the very cause which he strives to uphold, has sketched for us the history of Buchanan. It presents a curious illustration of the simplicity with which Protestantism accepts its heroes, and the temerity with which it canonises them.

Buchanan, he tells us, was in his youth « a wandering minstrel. » He had found the restraints of domestic life too irksome, and to relieve himself from their yoke he became a strolling player, obstinately refusing every invitation to return to the paternal roof. Weary of this somewhat questionable calling, he next became « an attorney's clerk; » and Mr Kaye adds, with scant reverence for the future « missionary, » that « though he sometimes wanted a dinner, he had money to spend on theatres, spouting clubs, and other public amusements. » (2)

But even this does not blunt Mr Kaye's appetite for historical invective, especially when he is dealing with the luminaries of his own sect. He is careful, therefore, to inform us, — speaking of a later period of Buchanan's life, when he had become a clergyman,

(1) *The Early Jesuit Missions in N. America*, by the Revd W. Ingraham Kipp, M. A., Preface, p. 8.

(2) *Christianity in India*, ch. VI, p. 167.

and settled in India, — that « one of the most intelligent officers in the Company's service, a Resident at a Native Court,» was accustomed to say of Buchanan; « I am convinced that he is a man of wretched and most unchristian like vanity. » (1) Nor can we venture to deny with any confidence that the opinion of this intelligent officer was strictly accurate. « I often compare myself, in my present exile, » says Buchanan, « to John, in the island of Patmos. » (2) Whether the position of an ex-minstrel and attorney's clerk, promoted to a professorship in a Calcutta college, and whose « exile » was solaced by opulent ease, was quite identical with that of St. John at Patmos, may perhaps be disputed, — especially as even an admirer tells us that, « for the present Mr Buchanan was almost a *silent* witness in this Patmos for the word of God. » (3) But if his estimate of his own merits was sometimes excessive, he compounded for this infirmity by duly appreciating the defects of others. Thus he tells us of his fellow clergy in India, that « the chief fault of the missionary societies at home was in the selection of the men. It appears that most of them were weak, and most of them novices. » Again, describing his own immediate sphere, he says; « We have some of all sects in our congregation, — Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, Armenians, Greeks, and Nestorians; and some of them are part of my audience at the English Church. But

(1) *History of the Administration of the E. I. Company*, p. 636.

(2) Pearson's *Memoirs of Buchanan*, vol. I, p. 150.

(3) *Sketches of Christianity in India*, by the Revd M. Wilkinson, p. 98.

a name or a sect is never mentioned from the pulpit. » (1) Under the circumstances, this precaution was probably judicious.

Sometimes he speaks of Catholics, and, being perfectly independent of « missionary societies at home, » with singular fairness. The Jesuits he often praises, declaring that « their information is generally more important than that of the Protestant missionaries, » and that « they very politely gave me all the books I wanted, and letters of introduction to their brethren in the South. » He might well trust to their books and their authority in getting up his facts about India, for, as Count Bjornstjerna confessed long after, « it is to them that we are really indebted for the best accounts of India in the 16th and 17th centuries. » (2)

The only incident in Buchanan's career, who never converted, nor pretended to convert, even a solitary heathen, was his visit to the Syrian Churches of Malabar, of which he has frankly avowed both the motive and the results. « When I reflected, » he says, « on the immense power of the Romish Church in India, and on our inability to withstand its influence alone, it appeared to me an object of great consequence to secure the aid and co-operation of the Syrian Church, and the sanction of its antiquity in the East. » (3) Such candour almost disarms criticism, especially when he adds, that this scheme,

(1) Vol. I, p. 324.

(2) *The Theogony of the Hindoos*, by Count Björnstjerna, p. 6, (1844). Cf. *History of India*, by the Hon. Mountstewart Elphinstone; vol. II, book 12, ch. III, p. 653.

(3) *Christian Researches in Asia*, p. 64.

which the Anglican Church has often tried elsewhere, notably failed. We must quote his own words.

The Syrians were in great straits. The larger number of them had already submitted to the Catholic Church and abjured their heresy; the remainder were therefore not unlikely to welcome the advances of an emissary who, in their apprehension, represented both the Church and the Government of the great power whose subjects they had now become. Yet they did not hesitate a moment to give the same contemptuous answer to his embassy which the Church of England has so often received from other oriental sects, whose « co-operation » she has vainly solicited. Buchanan visited Mar Dionysius, the « Metropolitan of the Syrian Church, » and this was his reception. « The Bishop's chaplain confessed to me that they had doubts as to the purity of English ordination. ' The English, ' said they, ' may be a warlike and great people; but their church, by your own account, is but of recent origin. ' » This was a grave rebuff from men under whose antiquity he wished to shelter his own very « recent » church; nor could he, after all his efforts, extract from the Bishop any other remark than this, that « he did not perfectly comprehend our ecclesiastical principles! » (1)

The efforts of the Anglican Church in India to connect itself with this sect, and their mortifying conclusion, deserve a brief notice. So long as it was hoped that the Nestorians might be induced to join them in that opposition to the Catholic Church for which the

(1) P. 66.

former had only too keen a relish, they were flattered and caressed, bibles and money forced upon them, and every mark of sympathy and respect. Above all, their « purity » and « antiquity » were vehemently celebrated. La Croze had praised, fifty years before Buchanan, the « considerable marks of purity » (1) which the Nestorian church exhibited, and Protestant bishops and clergy have eagerly repeated his language up to the present time. « There is perhaps, » says an Anglican clergyman, « no example of a Church more pure, simple, and apostolic. » (2) We shall have additional proofs of this complicity when we come to speak hereafter of Armenia and the Levant. Yet these Syrians, as Dubois observed, « destroy the whole economy of the mystery of the Incarnation, and acknowledge two distinct and separate Persons in Christ. » (3) And M^r^ Wredé, who also had lived among them, says; « They reject the divine nature of Christ, and call the Virgin Mary only the mother of Christ, not of God. » (4) With these unfortunate sectaries the bishops and clergy of the Anglican Church in India strove earnestly to form a treaty of alliance; and it was not until their advances had been repelled, again and again, that they affected to discover, in the words of D^r^ Brown, that « these ancient churches are, in reality, little if at all better than the Romish Church. We question if there are even to be found in them those examples of piety

(1) *Histoire du Christianisme des Indes*, tome I, liv. I, p. 4.
(2) *Christianitg in India*, by J. W. Cunningham, M. A.; p. 117.
(3) *Asiatic Journal*, vol. III, p. 74.
(4) *Account of the S^t^ Thomé Christians on the Coast of Malabar*, by F. Wredé; *Asiatic Researches*, vol. VII, p. 370.

which are occasionally to be found in the Church of Rome. » (1) But by this time the Syrians had peremptorily refused all further intercourse with Protestants, and Dr Wilson, the Anglican bishop of Calcutta, had « resolved to disconnect the Church Missionary Society from the Syrian Church altogether. » (2)

Dr Buchanan did not, of course, foresee this result, when he went to solicit the « co-operation » of the Nestorians against « the immense power of the Romish Church in India. » The only additional fact in his history which we need notice is his visit to the Catholic Archbishop of Goa, to whom he related, with admirable tact and judgment, the popular traditions about the atrocities of the Inquisition. The only comment, he tells us, which his graphic tales elicited from the venerable prelate, was expressed by the occasional ejaculation, which hardly interrupted his flowing narrative,— « *mendacium! mendacium!* » (3)

A second name to which it would not have been necessary to allude but for a special reason, is that of Dr Judson. This gentleman is cited by one of the ablest of Protestant reviewers as worthy to be compared with any Catholic missionary whatever; and even referred to as a proof that Protestantism need not fear, while it can point to his « devoted courage, » the most unsparing criticism of its missionary agents. A few words will suffice to indicate the nature of Dr Judson's claim to this distinction.

And first, the Rev. Adoniram Judson was so far

(1) *History of the Propagation of Christianity*, etc., vol. II, p. 348.

(2) *Missions in S. India*, by J. Mullens, p. 130.

(3) *Christian Researches*, p. 85.

unlike the order of apostolic missionaries to whom he is somewhat imprudently compared, that he changed his opinion on one of the most important tenets of Christianity, not before he set out for the East, but during his voyage thither. « On the passage Mr Judson became convinced that the New Testament furnished no authority for infant baptism; » (1) an event, we are told, « which not only gave much distress to the members of the mission, but produced, perhaps, other feelings besides chagrin to the minds of the members of the Board that had sent him out. » (2) St. Paul speaks of people who are « carried about by every wind of doctrine, » « ever learning and never attaining to the knowledge of the truth, » and he includes « the doctrine of baptism » amongst those cardinal verities which form, as it were, « *the foundation* » of Christianity. (3) But it is permitted to Protestant missionaries to change their views on such subjects, and Dr Judson used the privilege. This was his first step, and the next was a suitable sequel. His immediate destination was Burmah, where the only trace which he left of his passage was an inundation of tracts, which nobody read, and to whose indocile inhabitants he addressed on his departure this appropriate farewell; « Read the five hundred tracts I have left with thee! » — a task which they have probably not yet completed. His conduct while in that country, of which this judi-

(1) *Memoir of the Revd Adoniram Judson*, D. D., by Francis Wayland, vol. I, p. 95.

(2) *Religion in the United States of America*, by the Revd Robert Baird, book VIII, ch. v, p. 703.

(3) Heb. VI, 1, 2.

cious exhortation is a specimen, is thus described by a Protestant writer, in a treatise which has the honour to rank as a Cambridge Prize Essay.

« The methods by which missionaries endeavour *to attract attention* have frequently operated to the injury of their cause among a people who are, perhaps, more alive to their absurdity than even Europeans. Judson, for instance, commenced his missionary labours at Rangoon, in Burmah, by constructing on the side of the road leading to the grand pagoda a little hut of bamboo and thatch, without doors, windows, or partitions. Here, as his wife relates, he used to sit all day long, and say to the passers by, ' Ho! every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money, come ye, buy and eat; yea, come, buy wine and milk without price.' What could be more ill judged, not to say absurd, than this? How could the passers by, by any human possibility, have the least comprehension of this beautiful metaphor? Taking it in its literal sense, the only one in which they *could* take it, can we blame the Burmese for laughing in his face, and considering him, *prima facie,* either a fool or a madman? » (1)

Thus far we fail to detect in Judson the eminent qualities for which the Protestant Reviewer gives him credit. He was distinguished, however, in another way, which perhaps inspired the admiration of a critic who deprecates « Catholic asceticism » as only an « exotic » which Protestants can do very well without. (2) Mr Mullens, who has already been

(1) *Theory and Practice of Caste*, ch. v, p. 150.
(2) *Saturday Review*, January. 1859.

quoted, tells us, that Protestant missionaries « do not become hypochondriac from living alone; » and Judson guarded himself so effectually against the depressing influences of solitude, that he contracted three matrimonial alliances during his missionary career, and enjoyed the rare advantage of having his memoirs composed, not, like Morrison, by a second, but by a third wife. This frequent repetition of the marriage vows does not appear to have impaired his claims to the dignity of an apostle, though we are told, by a Presbyterian writer on India, the following circumstance, of which Judson was probably ignorant. « Dr Duff said it had been a matter of serious consideration among the Missionaries what should be done in case of the conversion of one who had already married several wives; because, all these marriages being legal, how could they be broken? One thing is clear, that such a person could not be admitted into any office of the Christian ministry, as both a Bishop and Deacon is required to be ' the husband of *one* wife.' » (1) Fortunately Judson was not of the same sect as Dr Duff, or he would certainly have occasioned that gentleman « serious consideration. »

The only additional fact which need be noticed in connection with Dr Judson, whose apostolic character is somewhat faintly delineated in the particulars already mentioned, and whose only notion of converting the heathen was to give them tracts which they used as waste paper, is the advice which he gave to the American Board of Missions by which

(1) *Six Years in India*, vol. I, ch. II, p. 59.

he was employed. « I should be inclined to advise the Board, « he wrote, » to send out no more missionaries to these parts, unless they can devise some way of making them go where they are sent, and *stay there.* » (1) The advice is not the less pertinent because he had forgotten to follow it himself; though it is only fair to add, that if he did not stay where he was sent, it was probably because he had come to the conclusion that it was perfectly useless to do so. Perhaps his own experience confirmed the opinion expressed by Mr Kennett Mackenzie, that « the so-called missionary labours in Burmah cause more harm in a short while » than all political causes « will do in the course of years, » (2) He was himself conspicuous amongst those unprofitable but loquacious agents of whom Mr Windsor Earl observed on the spot, « their labours are rarely heard of, except through the medium of missionary publications *brought out from England.* » (3) It is worthy of remark also, that Judson appears to have run away from purely imaginary perils. « The people of Burmah, » Sir William Sleeman reported to Lord Dalhousie in 1852, « are not in any way opposed to us from either religious or political feelings. » (4) Catholic missionaries have willingly consumed their lives in this land, and apparently not without fruit. « It is a pity, » said Major Burney, Resident at the Burmese Court, in

(1) Wayland's *Memoir*, vol. II, ch. VIII, p. 304.

(2) *Burmah and the Burmese*, by Kennett Mackenzie, preface, (1853).

(3) *The Eastern Seas*, ch. XII, p. 398.

(4) *Journey through the Kingdom of Oude*, vol. II, p. 367. (1858).

1832, « that some account of the life of Father d'Amato cannot be communicated to the civilised world. He lived among his flock, like one of themselves, and was venerated by them in no common degree. » (1)

It would be impossible to notice individually the various gentlemen who, during the present century, have represented the manifold sects of Protestantism in India, and whose claim to the character of apostolic missionaries was not less substantial than that of Judson and Buchanan. Some of them will traverse, from time to time, the scene which we have still to unroll; but it is now time to consider, in a separate form, the special operations of the Anglican Church in Hindostan, when she at length assumed, in 1814, a distinct organisation, and resolved to present herself in more imposing guise to the contemplation of the Hindoos. Up to that date she had salaried chiefly Danes and Germans, Lutherans and Calvinists, because no others would accept her commission. But if the Church of England, accustomed to such alliances, entrusted her honour to men who brought fresh ignominy on a name already somewhat tarnished even among the oriental sects, she could still plead, in arrest of condemnation, that their irregularities had not hitherto been controlled by adequate ecclesiastical authority. When she could find time to despatch one of her « bishops » to India, the world would witness a very different exhibition of her real character. There were some little difficulties to be removed, — the acquiescence of the government to be solicited, — the salary to be determined and se-

(1) *Asiatic Journal, New Series*, vol. X, p. 274.

cured, — and then a new era would dawn for India. So at last she chose her bishop, and the object of her choice was Dr Thomas Middleton.

It was apparently high time to try this final remedy. « From the want of superintendance, » said Lord Valentia, just before Middleton arrived, « it is painful to observe, that the characters of too many of the clergy are by no means creditable to the doctrines they profess, which, together with the unedifying contests that prevail among them even in the pulpit, tend to lower the religion, and its followers, in the eyes of the natives of every description. » (1) As a remedy for these evils, Lord Valentia recommended the appointment of a bishop, because « the natives of India are greatly swayed by external appearances. » Let us enquire, then, what effect was produced upon them by the arrival of Dr Middleton.

Mr Kaye, who is always at hand when the distinctive attributes of some Protestant dignitary are to be ruthlessly exposed, tells us that Middleton, while yet in England, « had obtained the livings of Tansor and Bythams, a prebendal stall at Lincoln, the Archdeaconry of Huntingdon, the Rectory of Puttenham in Hertfordshire, and the great parish of St. Pancras in London. » And lest this impressive catalogue should be insufficient to determine Middleton's real character, he adds; that « he was a cold and stately formalist, had a decided taste for military salutes, and struggled manfully for social precedence. » (2) Notwithstanding these dispositions, the Church of Eng-

(1) *Travels*, vol. I, ch. v, p. 199.
(2) *Christianity in India*, ch. VIII, pp. 286, 301.

land sent him to India, and Mr Le Bas has written his life. To his pages we must refer for an account of his proceedings, and of their influence upon religion in Hindostan.

We learn from Mr Le Bas that Middleton had stipulated for a salary of 5,000 l. a year for himself, 2,000 l. for each of his Archdeacons, 10,000 rupees additional for himself whenever he went to Madras, 10,000 when he visited Bombay, « besides the use of a ship. » But he had held too many benefices at home to accept this as an adequate compensation for their loss. His own letters show how he resented the wrong. « As to my salary, » he says, and he said it very often, « the chief justice has 4,000 l. more, and the puisnes 2,000 l., allowing for a different mode of payment, though their jurisdiction is limited to Bengal, and mine extends over India. » (1) The greater opulence of « the puisnes » he seems to have regarded as a special indignity, and his biographer avows his own disapproval of the arrangement. « He indicated dissatisfaction, » says Mr Le Bas, « at the scantiness of his salary; » but the insensible Government slighted his reiterated complaint, and coldly abandoned him to his poverty. They seem to have thought that as he received altogether more than ten times the salary of an Archbishop in France, he might contrive to live upon it.

But the slenderness of his income was not the only source of his dissatisfaction. He considered that an official whose « jurisdiction extended over India, »

(1) *Life of Bishop Middleton*, by the Revd C. Webb Le Bas, vol. I, ch. VI, p. 177.

— though India remained perfectly unconscious of the fact, — should receive a due amount of public homage. Even this reasonable expectation was mortified. « As to my reception on landing, » he says, with evident emotion, « it was anything but what it ought to have been. »

In this generous and apostolic temper he commenced his episcopal labours. That they ever extended beyond the ranks of those who were called his clergy, though most of them professed « another gospel » than his, is not pretended; but at all events his position afforded him opportunities for excursions into various provinces of India, and the facts which they brought under his notice must have tried him almost as severely as the insufficiency of his income, and the unexpected coldness of his reception. The only signs of life and progress which ever met his eye were exhibited by the Catholic Missions, while those which were conducted by Protestants were already hastening to decay. Thus, at Cuddalore, he received « a melancholy representation of the decayed state of the mission; » while of the once vaunted establishment of Tranquebar, upon which so much money had been lavished, we are told; « the mission of Tranquebar was a source of perpetual agitation and distress to him. It was hastening to decay, and apparently to utter extinction. » (1) And not only was this the unpleasant spectacle which met him everywhere, but even the English displayed a culpable indifference to the claims of his « jurisdiction. » « The Baptists, » he says, with grave irony,

(1) Ch. xvi, p. 481.

« seem to have abandoned all conversion *but that of Europeans;* but they boast of their success among his Majesty's European troops, » — which he appears to have thought was not exactly their professed object in going to India. On the other hand, as we have seen, he had opportunities of noticing that « the Church of Rome has done wonders in the East. »

Amongs the various journies of D^r^ Middleton in India the first receives the special attention of his biographer, and is perhaps the only one which calls for ours. It appears that he rarely consented to resign the society of M^rs^ Middleton; and he records that, on a certain occasion, when the wind was inconveniently high, so as to interfere with the tranquil enjoyment of his pastoral voyage, « Whilst I was endeavouring to comfort M^rs^ Middleton, our little dog jumped upon her lap, as if fully impressed with the terror of the scene. » Perhaps some of his readers may have thought that terror was not exactly the feature which predominated in the scene; and that the spectacle of a « bishop » comforting his wife in a gale of wind, with such assistance, might justify other emotions. But M^r^ Le Bas would reprove this levity, for he considers « the progress of the first Protestant Bishop of India a subject of high and solemn interest. » (1) Even his enthusiasm, however, will allow that men who are familiar with the *Acts of the Apostles*, and the annals of Catholic missionaries, may reasonably contemplate D^r^ Middleton's journey with less awe than himself; and perhaps even be pardoned if they see in it nothing more im-

(1) Ch. VI, p. 200.

pressive than the harmless excursion of a highly respectable gentleman, accustomed to « struggle for social precedence, » who deemed himself underpaid with five thousand a year and perquisites, and who carried with him wherever he went a wife, a « little dog, » and whatever appendages such companions demand. (1)

If it be true, as Lord Valentia intimates, that « Hindoos are much swayed by external appearances, » we may easily estimate the impression which Dr Middleton and his associates must have produced upon them. « Brahmanism, » says the censorious Mr Kaye, « stood not aghast at the sight of the lawn sleeves of the bishop. » (2) What its disciples, who are somewhat exacting in their notions of what is becoming in teachers of religion, thought of his manner of life, is no where recorded; though we may perhaps infer their secret judgment from the remarks of their princes to Heber, to whom they continually offered shawls and veils, with the courteous explanation, « that they would probably be useful in his Zenana. »

The first « bishop » whom England sent to India does not, then, appear to have produced all the results expected from him. « We do not know, » says an historian, alluding to his labours, « that the diffusion of our religion among Hindus, Mahometans, or Parsees, has been very materially accelera-

(1) « Ed è un tal uomo che deve predicare il Mistero della Croce e le virtù del Vangelo ? Quale derisione ! quale impostura ! quale follie ! » Ventura, *Le Belleze della Fede*, tome II, p. 97.

(2) *Administration of the E. I. Company*, p. 646.

ted. » (1) Nor need this surprise us, when we find that he utterly failed even to remedy the confusion and disorder among his co-religionists. « All the Protestants, » he tells us himself, « Wesleyans, Baptists, and American Puritans, act together with tolerable cordiality, and the clergy countenance them, so far as they can, without making improper concessions. In this manner the work is going on, and otherwise it would not go on at all. » (2) « One of the early sources of disquietude to the first Anglican prelate in India, » we are told by General Parlby, arose out of a demand by the Presbyterians « for the alternate use of the cathedral in Calcutta. » (3) The last of them, Dr Cotton, appears to have given the Presbyterians even more than they asked for. « In India, » an Anglican society was lately informed by Mr Beresford Hope, « the Bishop of Calcutta has ordered his chaplains to allow the Presbyterian chaplains to go shares in their chapels. » (4) Such has been the progress since Dr Middleton's time.

It is true he deplored « the discordant tenets of the missionaries, » and apparently not without reason. « Next to the suspicion that the Europeans are generally destitute of all real religion, » says his biographer, « the grand impediment the Gospel has to contend with among idolaters, arises from the multiplicity of shapes under which our visible religion presents itself to their notice. Their observation uni-

(1) *History of British India*, by Charles Macfarlane, ch. xxx, p. 375, (1857).

(2) *Life*, ch. xii, p. 347.

(3) *The Establishment of the Anglican Church in India*, p. 17.

(4) Quoted in *The Times*, June 6, 1861.

formly is, that they should think much better of Christianity, *if there were not quite so many different kinds of it.* » (1) Dr Middleton and his successors were not able to afford the heathen much assistance in this difficulty, by diminishing the number of conflicting sects whose existence provoked their comments, and perhaps justified their contempt for the « visible religion » of their masters. « Romanism is *one*, » says a writer whom we shall have to notice hereafter; « Mohamedism is one; and Paganism is one; but *we* are not one. And until we become one, the world will never be convinced. » (2) The prospects of the heathen world are, then, somewhat gloomy, as there is not yet much sign of Protestantism converging to unity; and we shall find reason in the course of these pages for believing, that the manifold sects which it has generated are chiefly occupied, in all parts of the globe, in making the conversion of the heathen impossible. Failing in all other aims, they are only too successful in this. « A large portion of the sterility of our missions, » says Dr Grant, « may be attributed to that discord which Christianity, » — he means Protestantism, — « exhibits in the very sight of the unbeliever. » And he repeats this barren confession again and again. « Must there not arise, » he asks, « a strong presumption in the mind of an unbeliever *against* the Divine origin of that doctrine, or system, which cannot be clearly ascertained, or on which its upholders cannot unite? » And he quotes the observation of

(1) *Life*, ch. v, p. 132.
(2) Reed's *Visit to the American Churches*, vol. II, p. 293.

a gentleman familiar with Indian missions, who told him; « I question whether any but those who have come into contact with it as Missionaries can realize its evil in a missionary form to the heathen. » (1)

Dr Grant appears to forget that every one of these sects had been bred from the Church of England, and that it was she who created and then sent them to India. Her clergy also, as we shall see presently in the case of Anglican bishops of Calcutta, are often the first to justify by their practice the very dissensions which officially they are supposed to condemn. Even in explaining to the educated heathen a phenomenon which he is sufficiently acute to notice and appreciate, they use such language as the following. « I will not conceal, » says Dr Rowland Williams, in a book intended to assist the Hindoo in approaching to Christianity, « nor need you wonder, that with a general agreement among Christians as to the essentials of their faith, there are points as to some of its aspects variously disputed » (2) — and it is hoped by such admissions to conceal from the subtle pagan the real character of Protestantism!

Dr Williams cannot but know that that form of religious opinion has been before the heathen for half a century, and that he has already judged it, as we shall see again and again in future chapters of this work. In India, Protestantism has displayed life and energy only in the ceaseless conflicts of its various sects. As far back as 1813, Mr Marsh declared before the House of Commons; « Provided India is supplied

(1) *Bampton Lectures*, app. p. 316.

(2) *Christianity and Hinduism*, by Rowland Williams, B. D.; p. 507. (1856).

with a plentiful assortment of sects, — Calvinists, Unitarians, Methodists, Moravians, etc., — no one seems to feel the least solicitude whether the Christianity that is to be taught there be the genuine language of its Author, or the dream of mysticism and folly. » (1) « If they were to succeed, » said Major Scott Waring, who saw them multiplying on every side, « we should have as many different sects as there are castes among the Hindoos. » (2) Fortunately they have failed; but far from diminishing in numbers, we find a celebrated writer still noticing, in 1858, « the itinerant expounders of the faith, who, to the great astonishment of the Asiatics, present themselves in the most various forms as the ministers of *many* different churches, yet all claiming to be of *one* religion! » (3) And in 1859, M^r^ Russell once more deplores, that « the differences between Christian Missionaries do not present a very encouraging front to the Hindoo or Mussulman would be neophyte. » We shall see the same melancholy spectacle exhibited in every part of the world, and every where with such disastrous results, that it is impossible to doubt that the emissaries whom Protestantism has despatched to every land are only employed in increasing the perplexity, and riveting the bonds, of the pagan, by convincing him of the earthly origin of all religions save his own.

But to return to D^r^ Middleton. Perhaps the only thing in connection with him which need excite our surprise, is the fact, which will always remain

(1) *Speech of Charles Marsh Esq.*, M. P., July 1st, 1813.
(2) *Observations*, etc., p. 45.
(3) *The Times*, 21st October, 1858.

unexplained, that any one should have thought it necessary to write his life. The solitary incident which Mr Le Bas is able to record in two large volumes, is his establishment of a « college, » which, he must have known, has proved a total failure; and to which, as we shall presently learn, the Hindoos refuse to send their children, because its scholars invariably become atheists. Middleton proposed, as a bait to reluctant missionaries and professors, enormous salaries, which excited even in India such comments as the following. « The bishop's plan is a piece of worldly mechanism, constructed to attract qualified performers by a direct appeal to those feelings which regulate the choice of professions by the calculations of interest. » (1) The professors, it appears, were easily found, but Mr Howard Malcolm assures us, in 1839, that « there have as yet never been more than ten or twelve students at a time. The salary of the principal is 1,000 l. per annum, and of the second teacher 700 l. » (2) And in 1857, exactly forty years after its foundation, M. de Valbezen noticed on the spot that « the Bishop's College is almost entirely abandoned; » (3) although, as Count de Warren observed, when he visited it in 1843, « it admits *Christian* children, whether European or native. » (4)

But it is time to pass from Middleton to his successors. Whatever the later Anglican bishops in India may prove, they can hardly present fewer

(1) *Asiatic Journal*, vol. IX, p. 339.
(2) *Travels in S. Eastern Asia*, vol. I, ch. I, p. 17.
(3) *Les Anglais et l'Inde*, par E. de Valbezen, ch. III, p. 162.
(4) *L'Inde Anglaise*, tome III, ch. XII, p. 233

claims to our esteem than the first of their number. Towards the close of his career, when his wife's health became a subject of anxiety to him, M^r^ Le Bas relates, that « his terrors were aggravated by the circumstance, that the loss of M^rs^ Middleton would consign him to a state of the most hopeless and appalling desertion. Without her, the world was, to his imagination, a scene of such dreariness and bereavement, that his heart sunk at the very thoughts of it. » (1) We can only suppose that he wished to show, by these ignoble words, that it is unreasonable to ask for apostolic gifts in an Anglican prelate. The indiscretion of biographers is proverbial; but when M^r^ Le Bas takes so much pains to reveal Middleton's real character, why does he still insist upon the world accepting him as a saint and a hero?

Of these who in succession filled the place which Middleton had now vacated only one has left a name to posterity. We would speak with all tenderness of the amiable and accomplished Heber; and if we might view him simply as a gentleman, a poet, and a scholar, would willingly add our wreath to the laurel crown which popular sympathy has awarded him. But we have to estimate him, not as a man, but as a missionary, and may not concede to purely natural gifts the homage which is due only to such as are supernatural.

It has often been remarked that Heber, — whose poetical temper was inflamed in early life with tales of oriental romance, and to whose imagination India was a land « rich with barbaric gold, » — was sin-

(1) *Life*, vol. II, ch. XXVII, p. 309.

gularly deficient even in such spirituality as his form of religion encourages. In the three ample volumes which disclose the secret thoughts of his heart, and record the daily communings of his soul, there is hardly so much as a solitary exhibition of devout and Christian feeling. He writes always as a refined and speculative tourist, never as a missionary, nor as one to whom the contemplation of divine truths was familiar. « His published Travels in India, » says a Protestant writer, « contain little or nothing to indicate piety; » (1) and in this remark there is no undue severity. On the other hand, it is refreshing to read volumes in which there is absolutely no trace of the nauseous phraseology which is usually the staple of such compositions. You will find nothing in Heber about « calls » which he never received, and « conversions » which never took place. Perhaps there are only two men in the whole army of Protestant Missionaries, — Heber and Livingstone, — whose pages are unsullied by the dismal jargon of cant, and whose manly natures disdained to sacrifice to the comic divinities of methodism, the Pan and Silenus of the conventicle.

Heber seems, like Middleton, to have not only exerted no influence whatever upon the heathen world outside his communion, but to have contended in vain with the disorders which prevailed within it. « Instances of actual conversion to Christianity, » he says, « are as yet very uncommon; » or, as he expresses it a little later, « few indeed in number, but enough to show that the thing is not impos-

(1) Howard Malcolm, vol. II, ch. II, p. 77.

sible. » (1) « The Roman Catholics, » he confesses, « are considerably more numerous; » and then, under the tyranny of prejudices from which even his eminent qualities did not exempt him, he tries to defame their character. Sometimes this petty and ungenerous temper was rebuked even by men of his own religion, and one example deserves mention. Heber had stooped to sneer at a Catholic Missionary, venerated even by Protestants as the very « type of a Christian minister, » and drew upon himself this rebuke. « Bishop Heber seems scarcely to have done justice to this excellent man, in ascribing his popularity to the smoothness of his manner, and his tact in administering to the self-love of his associates. » (2)

Of his own position among the rival sects which, in the very presence of the heathen, were waging perpetual war with each other, he often speaks bitterly. » Our chief hindrances, » he says, « are some of those who are professedly engaged in the same work with ourselves, the Dissenters. These are indeed very civil, and affect to rejoice at our success; but they, some how or other, cannot help interfering, and setting up rival schools close to ours; and they apparently find it easier to draw off our pupils, than to look out for fresh and more distant fields of exertion and enterprise. » (3)

Yet Heber's own clergy seem to have instructed their rivals in the very arts which he reproved. The 20th Report of the « Calcutta Auxiliary Baptist Missionary Society » complains, with apparent reason,

(1) Heber's *Indian Journal*, vol. II, ch. XXVIII, p. 203, (1843).
(2) *Asiatic Journal*, vol. XV, p. 150.
(3) Vol. II, *Correspondence*, p. 189.

that when they « dismissed a native preacher for gross immorality, the missionaries of the Propagation Society received him into the Church of England; » (1) and in our own day, a Presbyterian writer reproaches « the frequent laxity of some of the Church of England Missions, » on the same ground, that they eagerly receive converts dismissed from other sects on account of their irregularities. (2) The inconvenience, however, of the continual migration of « converts » from one sect to another appears at last to have instigated one Anglo-Indian prelate to « discourage all attempts at proselytism from any other Protestant church. » (3)

The Lutheran clergy appear to have given Heber a world of trouble, from which he could not well escape as long as they were actually employed, as they are to this day, as ministers of the Church of England. In the capital itself he must have witnessed strange sights; for even « the Mission Church at Calcutta was then occupied by the Rev. Mr Ringeltaube, a clergyman of the *Lutheran* Church, who had been sent to India under the patronage of the Society for Promoting Christian knowledge! » (4) Heber had, therefore, no power to correct, nor even any right to rebuke them; and though he professed to be indignant with some of the English clergy for openly communicating with heretics, he actually allowed, when reproached by a Lutheran minister, that he was perfectly ready to imitate them. « Were

(1) *Asiatic Journal*, vol. XXXVI, p. 8.
(2) Mackenzie, *Six Years in India*, vol. III, ch. IV, p. 145.
(3) *Asiatic Journal*, vol. XXXVI, p. 275. (1841).
(4) Pearson's *Memoirs of Buchanan*, vol. I, p. 147.

I to return to Germany, » he wrote apologetically to the Rev. Deocar Schmidt, « I would again, as before, humbly and thankfully avail myself of the preaching and sacramental ordinances of the Lutheran Evangelical Church. » (1) He seems, therefore, to have anticipated that remarkable theory, more fully developed in our own day, which makes church communion a question of geography, and condemns in one province as an act of schism what in the next it approves as Christian and Catholic. It was intolerable for Lutherans to oppose Anglicanism at Calcutta, but it would have been equally criminal in Anglicans to oppose Lutheranism at Berlin. We can hardly be surprised if in their conflict with the Protestant bishops of India the Lutherans always triumphed.

It appears, then, that the English religion failed as completely under Heber as it did under Middleton either to attract the heathen without, or to quiet the divisions within its fold. It would, however, have been something if the Protestant bishops had been able at least to inspire their own clergy with more generous feelings than they had been wont to display before their episcopal rulers arrived. Even this they failed to effect. Long after both Heber and Middleton had left this world, and bid an eternal farewell to its brief honours and emoluments, the unscrupulous acquisitiveness of the Anglican clergy was a jest in Indian Society, so that even the gravest and most religious statesmen of that country thought it a fair subject of remark. « Owen, the late Chaplain General, died last year, » — 1825, — says Lord Teignmouth, « worth more than 100,000 l. I speak positively as

(1) *Correspondence*, p. 249.

to the amount, on the authority of one who went to Doctors' Commons and procured a copy of his will. » (1) And this, though an extreme, was not a solitary case. « It would seem, » says a writer who has already given us valuable information, « that at the close of the last century the Company's chaplains were a money making race of men. There is a curious entry in the journal of Mr Kiernander, the old Danish missionary, running in these words. ' The Rev. Mr Blanshard is preparing to go to England upon an American ship in about a fortnight, worth five lakhs of rupees. Mr Owen two and a half lakhs. Mr Johnson three and a half lakhs. ' An average annual saving, if Mr K. is to be trusted, of 2,500 l.! These churchmen must have devoted themselves to something more lucrative than the cure of souls, and the burial of the dead. What it was may be readily conjectured. » (2) We have no further aid in determining to what kind of traffic Mr Kaye's conjecture alludes, but may perhaps assume that it was nothing more discreditable than the pursuits condemned in the caustic apothegm of Bernoulli ; « Tout ce qui va dans l'Inde, militaire, médecin, missionaire, est marchand, *ou le devient;* » (3) or the equally emphatic statement of Haafner, « personne ne part pour l'Inde que dans l'intention de faire fortune. » (4) But this point, as illustrating the character of Protestant missionaries, deserves further notice.

(1) *Life of Lord Teignmouth*, vol. II, p. 465.
(2) *Kaye's Administration of the E. I. C.*, p. 630.
(3) *Description de l'Inde*, tome III. Supplement, p. 105.
(4) *Voyages dans la Péninsule Occidentale de l'Inde*, par M. J. Haafner, tome I, p. 8.

« For some years, » observes a great Indian authority, « it was a common practice of many of the missionaries in India to talk of the hardships of their situation, the sacrifices they had made in leaving their family, friends, and native land, thus creating very erroneous impressions upon people in England. Now I believe, for the most part, that those who came to India as missionaries are far better off in means, situation of life, and general comfort, than they would have been in England. » After other remarks, in which he openly ridicules their pretended « devotion to the cause » as a motive, in any degree, for coming to India, and observing that « their labour is infinitely *less* than it would have been in England, » he continues thus. « The clergy of the Church of England, too will not, I think, refuse to allow that their situation has, with few exceptions, been improved by their appointment to India.... Those of the lowest origin usually give themselves the greatest airs. This affectation is, however, on the wane; men have begun to find out that no one believes their pretentions. » (1)

It is, perhaps, not surprising that these pretentions should excite derision in India, where the true position of the so-called missionaries is perfectly appreciated. They are not ignorant, for example, that, besides the large salaries which they receive, the « Calcutta Diocesan Additional Clergy Society require the residents of the station, » i. e. the English, « to pay 150 l. for the clergyman's passage and out-

(1) *Notes on Indian Affairs*, by the Hon. F. J. Shore, vol. II, p. 470.

fit, and to deposit 250 l., in order to send the clergyman back to England, in the event of failure of health. They are also required to build a parsonage, and keep it in repair. » (1) Such are the « sacrifices » to which the Anglican clergy are subject in India.

Nor can we believe that, as time goes on, they learn to manifest a more apostolic character. A letter, written from India to a mother, in 1858, by a clergyman's wife, and communicated to the writer of these pages, contains the following among similar examples. « Dr ..... shirks work so very much, and pretends weakness so much. It is very disgusting to see a man like him, the picture of health, pretending weakness to shirk work, yet able to amuse himself, and go to large dinner parties almost every night. You would be shocked at the style of clergy out here. It seems to me that they remain for the pay, » — this is also the impression of their heathen neighbours, — « and put aside conscience as regards work. *Money, money,* is the cry here with almost every one. » This lady adds, « Thank God, my darling, » meaning her husband, « is not of this sort. »

The progress of time, as we have said, does not appear to correct these infirmities. In 1859, we find Dr Cotton, the Protestant bishop of Calcutta, consoling his clergy under the disdainful reproaches of the *Calcutta Review*, whose censures, he observes, « were circulated as a tract, in which the missionaries are identified with the aristocrat and exclusive English, ' riding in proud vehicles, indulging in costly and refined observances, with doors besieged by pam-

(1) *Colonial Church Chronicle*, vol. V, p. 305.

pered menials. ' » Such rebukes, Dr Cotton assures his colleagues, are clearly unreasonable; and that he might furnish them with a peremptory refutation of all such peevish criticisms, he suggests to them a convenient and effective reply. « You may answer, » he says, « *that asceticism is no part of the Gospel system.* » (1)

It is consoling to turn from these ignoble pictures

(1) *Primary Charge of the Lord Bishop of Calcutta*, quoted in the *Overland Bombay Times*, November 26, 1859. Let it be permitted, before we proceed, to contrast the words of a true Christian priest with those of this Anglican prelate on the same subject. The reader will judge which sound like an echo from Heaven. « There were five spiritual presences in the Cave of Bethlehem. They were Poverty, Abandonment, Rejection, Secrecy, and Mortification. They started with the Infant Jesus from the Cave, and they went with Him to the Tomb. They are stern powers and their visages unlovely, and their voices harsh, and their company unwelcome to the natural man..... The companionship of the Beasts, and the room they had as it were lent Him to be born in, betokened His exceeding Poverty. The Manger was the type of abandonment. The refuse Straw, on which He lay, and which perhaps Joseph gathered from under the feet of the cattle, well expressed that Rejection, wherewith men have visited and will visit Him and His church through all generations till the end.....

There was something, therefore, in these five things, which expressed the character of the Incarnate Word. They pourtrayed His human sanctity. They were a prophecy of the Three-and-Thirty Years. *They foreshowed the spirit and genius of His church in all ages.* They reversed the judgments of the world, and were new standards according to which the last Universal Judgment was to be measured. They... were in themselves a revelation... Even now, what are all heresies, which concern holy living, but a dishonouring of them ? Asceticism is part of the ignominy of the Cross; and modern heathenism turns from it with the same disdain which the elder heathenism of Greece and Rome showed for it in the days of the persecuting Cœsars. » F. Faber, *Bethlehem*, ch. III, p. 145.

to the contemplation of another class of missionaries, whom Providence has employed the same witnesses to describe. Mr Malcolm reluctantly confesses of the Catholic clergy, « they are men of good morals, and live far more humbly than other missionaries; » while he adds, that « their stipend is 20 l. per annum. » And even this revenue, which would have appeared a revolting absurdity to Dr Middleton or Dr Cotton, is more than they sometimes receive; for another writer recounts with amazement, that « the missionaries manage to live and clothe themselves on one shilling per day. Though there are sixty-two Europeans employed, and many churches to repair, and endless law suits to undertake, the whole mission at Madura, » with its 150,000 Catholics, « only costs 1,500 l. per annum! »(1) Why should these writers be astonished that there are still in the world men who have ceased to « mind earthly things, » and who can affirm, as St. Peter did, without either shame or ostentation, « silver and gold have I none? » The apostolic missionary is content with the rewards which his Master knows how to give him in secret; it is « the hireling, whose own the sheep are not, » who bargains, like a merchant, for salary and pension, before he will lift up his voice to the heathen; and who, like the established clergy in India, « after ten years is entitled to the half-pay of a major, after seven years to that of a captain. » (2) The world exhibits, in its various scenes, many a striking contrast; but what contrast does earth manifest to us

(1) *The Theory and Practice of Caste*, ch. v, p. 130.
(2) *The Wonders of Elora*, ch. XIX, p. 489.

like that which exists between the Catholic and the Protestant missionary?

It is probable that Heber suffered many a pang in the society to which his office introduced him, but though his refinement was often wounded, his spiritual nature endured the trial without a shock. It would be easy to show how little claim this amiable man, — whose wretched death excites no remark on the part of his biographers, — had to the supernatural character; but the evidence would be both painful and superfluous. He does not, indeed, affect any other character than that which was really his own. He was a man of cultivated mind and refined tastes, but he hardly pretended to be an apostle. When he goes on a visitation tour, he says, with a simplicity which was free from all affectation; « I left, with a heavy heart, my dear wife and children, for the visitation of Madras and the South of India. » (1) The world is reasonable, and does not expect an Anglican bishop to manifest any higher feeling than this. He may be, and often is, courteous, liberal, and upright; but St. Paul's advice he cannot follow, for he hungers after the same earthly pleasures which other men crave; and though Holy Scripture points to a loftier state, and promises special rewards to those who embrace it, his ambition is content with a lower lot. To Heber the life of St. Paul, of St. Francis, of de Britto, and their brethren, would have been simply intolerable for a single week. He was an excellent specimen of an English gentleman, but he was no more an apostolic missionary, dead to self and the

(1) *Journal*, vol. II, ch. XXVIII, p. 172.

world, than the late Duke of Wellington, or the Speaker of the House of Commons.

It is characteristic of the unreality of a certain class of Anglican writers, that one of their principal authorities could venture to say, « Men like Henry Martyn and Heber, Rome would have canonized long since. » (1) Rome, as this reviewer calls the Church, would have declined to employ such men even as « ostiarii. »

There is perhaps no need to trace further the succession of obscure names which have been connected with the protestant bishoprics in India. The life of the last, for they have all found biographers, has lately been written by his son in law, and is quite as instructive as any which preceded it. Dr Daniel Wilson does not appear to have been happier than Heber or Middleton in his dealings with Hindoos, but his experience amongst his own countrymen exactly resembled theirs. « Sad, sad, » he says, in almost his first letter from India, « has been the unsettling of the diocese since Bishop Middleton! » — in whose time, as we have seen, it was sufficiently deplorable. Dr Wilson seems to have followed Heber's practice rather their Middleton's in his intercourse with other Protestant sects. « My heart, » he tells Bridgman, an American missionnary, « is with all of every church » — an expansiveness of sympathy which would have surprised St. Paul. He was afflicted by « the overflowings of infidelity, » and particularly by the circulation of « a large edition of Paine's Age of Reason, printed by some who professed and called themselves

(1) *Christian Remembrancer*, October, 1859, p. 375.

Christians, for the perversion of the educated and enquiring natives. » He consoled himself, however, as Lord Macaulay used to relate when in a cheerful mood, with all the luxuries which wealth could command. « The palace was completely and handsomely furnished, » says his son in law, with an emotion worthy of the subject; and he spent 4,500 l. during the first six months of his office — « a close carriage with venetians, » and « a light barouche, » swelling the items of the upholsterer's bill. (1) He did not convert any Hindoos, probably because they never heard of him.

Before we conclude our particular notice of the Anglican Church in India, the final results of whose operations will be discussed presently, it may be well to add a few examples of the estimate formed of her character, both by the heathen and her own members.

Our first witness is a Brahmin, whose description of that well known « service » which has been said to resemble « a funeral ceremony over a defunct religion, » exhibits the impression which it would not unnaturally produce on the mind of an acute and educated heathen. « Curiosity once led me into one of these churches, where a young man dressed in white began the performance of the ceremony. Had it not been for the carelessness of his manner, I should have been tempted to believe that he was engaged in offering prayers to the Deity... The ceremonies of the day were concluded by an elderly

(1) *Life of Daniel Wilson*, etc., by Rev[d] Josiah Bateman, vol. I, ch. XII, pp. 317, 320, 325, 331. (1860).

priest, in a black robe, who read, in a languid and monotonous tone, from a small book which he held in his hand, a sort of exhortation, the truths contained in which seemed equally indifferent to himself and to his audience. » (1) The Brahmin who drew this picture could not possibly foresee that a grave English traveller would one day produce an exactly similar one of « the fashionable Church in Calcutta. » Let the reader judge whether the aspect which Anglicanism presented to the Hindoo in 1855 was likely to attract his veneration.

« On looking round the Church I was astonished to find that the men who were labouring at the *punkahs* were the only natives in it! After the glowing accounts I had read in England and Ceylon of the success of missionary exertions in India, I was naturally astonished at this, and looked and looked again in the vain hope of discovering some quarter of the Church set apart for neophytes and proselytes. No, there was no such thing. » He then describes the service, and finally adds; « Before the conclusion of the sermon, the Church reminded me of Hogarth's picture of the *Sleeping Congregation;* one striking difference, however, there was — in Hogarth's picture the clerk, at least, is wide awake; in the fashionable Calcutta Church the clerk was fast asleep. All around were to be seen closed eyes, and heads leaning back as softly as hard rails and wooden ledges would permit; here and there an energetic snorer... It was truly a lamentable, and, at the same time, a strange sight.

(1) Hamilton's *Letters of a Hindoo Rajah*, vol. I, p. 91; 5th edition.

Altogether, a more truly melancholy spectacle than this outrageous burlesque of devotion, it would not have been easy to parallel elsewhere. To judge by the fashionable Calcutta Church, religion was a mere ceremonial mockery — an ingenious contrivance for passing away one day in the week in strange contrast with the others. » (1)

Another respectable English writer relates his experience in these words. « Were it not for the necessity which exists for the presence of a clergyman, for the performance of the *civil* rites ordained by the canons of the Church, many of the chaplains might as well be in England as in India. » (2)

« I am of the number of those, » says an Indian official in 1843, who were opposed to the commencement of the new cathedral in India, and for reasons which appear to me insuperable; that out of the six churches connected with the established religion at present in Calcutta, one only, the old one, has anything approaching to a regular and full congregation. » (3) This was thirty years after they had tried their final remedy of introducing « bishops. »

Finally, a Protestant missionary makes the following almost incredible report. « The state of religion is very low. I attended most of the principal Protestant places of worship, and by actual enumeration found the largest audience not to exceed 250

(1) *Tropical Sketches*, by William Knighton, A. M., p. 196.

(2) *Modern India*, by Henry H. Spry, M. D., vol. I, ch. v, p. 196.

(3) *The Stranger in India*, by George W. Johnson esq., Advocate of the Supreme Court at Calcutta, vol. I, p. 297.

persons. Several of them were not more than one third that number. » (1)

If this be, as it has been from the first, the aspect which the English religion presents to the Hindoos, we cannot be surprised to learn, as we shall do immediately, that the latter greatly prefer their own; or rather, that they do not believe the English have any religion at all — an opinion which we shall find to be universal among all oriental communities. It appears that one energetic Englishman, however, became himself an object of worship to a company of Shanars; but even in this extreme case, they still contrived to manifest their critical appreciation of the British character, since « the offerings presented at his tomb were spirits and cigars. » (2) On the other hand, they easily discriminate, like the heathen all over the world, the difference between Protestants and Catholics. « You call yourselves Christian, » the Hindoos say, as we have already heard; « so do the Roman Catholics, who abound in India. *They* daily frequent their churches, fast and pray, and do many penances; the English alone appear unconcerned about an event of the greatest importance. » Mr Kaye ventures to quote these striking words from Mr Forbes, and adds this comment upon them; « The natives of India marvelled whether the British acknowledged any God. » (3)

If we turn to the volumes published by Mr Forbes, we find that experienced writer recording this instructive fact. « I have been asked by many natives of

(1) Howard Malcolm, vol. II, ch. I, p. 35.
(2) Kaye's *Administration of the E. I. C.*, p. 652.
(3) *Christianity in India*, ch. IV, p. 90.

India, whether we really believed the truth of our own Scriptures? » — and he justifies their enquiry by adding, a little later, that it was impossible to deny « the fatal tendency to infidelity among the Europeans in India, especially the younger part of the community. » (1) Mr Walpole also admits, and appears to illustrate by his own example, the instability of Protestant opinions in pagan lands, when he says; « living among heathens, insensibly one learns to forget one's own faith, while one despises theirs. » (2)

We would willingly omit to notice in detail the other Protestant bodies which have sent emissaries to India, but there is one of them which must, in conclusion, be briefly reviewed; both because its operations have been on a larger scale than those of others, and because its agents have imprudently indulged in more vaunting language. The sect of the Baptists claims to have outstripped its rivals in success ; we are obliged, therefore, to enquire in what that success consists.

The principal scene of the Baptist mission appears to have been Serampore, where they erected a college, and endeavoured to act on the native mind by means of education. « Up to 1829, no less a sum than 21,838 l. had been expended on the college.» (3) Apparently this expenditure had not been too accu-

(1) *Oriental Memoirs*, by James Forbes, F. R. S., vol. III, ch. XXVIII, p. 32, and ch. 31, p. 185.

(2) *The Ansayrii*, etc., by the Hon. F. Walpote, vol. III, ch. XIII, p. 318.

(3) *India and Europe compared*, by Lieut. General Briggs, F. R. S., ch. VI, p. 167.

rately proportioned to the means at their disposal, for in 1837, by their own account, « they were sinking into debt. » (1) But all their operations were of the same ambitious kind. At Calcutta they had a printing establishment which « cost upwards of 20,000 l. » (2) It was from these two places that they deluged India with thousands of bibles and tracts, each more wretchedly mistranslated than its predecessor; for although Dr Carey, one of their most conspicuous members, received a salary of 800 l. a year, « not as a missionary, but merely as a professor of Sanscrit and Bengali, » (3) his linguistic qualifications appear to have been of an ambiguous kind; and we are told by a Protestant missionary that after many years of practice, during which he preached to the Hindoos whenever he could induce them to listen to him, he made the mortifying discovery « that he was not understood! » (4) Another writer furnishes a more minute account of his labours, and one which is too curious to be omitted. After noticing that Carey had the courage to issue translations of the Bible « in no fewer than thirty-five languages, » a very few of which he knew imperfectly, and the rest not at all, Dr Brown says; « It is painful to think that so much labour and expense should have been thrown away nearly

(1) *Asiatic Journal*, vol. XXIV, p. 231; New Series.

(2) Brown's *History of the Prop. of Christianity*, etc., vol. II, p, 67.

(3) *Apology for the Christian Missions to India*, by Andrew Fuller, p. 43. So « Dr Bryce received a civil appointement, objectionable in every point of view. » *A Voice from India*, by Captain J. B. Seely, p. 102.

(4) Howard Malcolm, vol. II, p. 265.

in vain. Had Dr Carey produced even *one* good translation, he would have rendered a greater service to the cause of missions than he has done by all his versions put together.... His versions generally *are now given up* as of no great value. » (1)

But if the Baptists, — who, according to their own account, were rivalling the Apostles in their labours and triumphs, and who were constantly sending to England such reports as, « the church is breaking forth on the right hand and on the left, » and others equally veracious, (2) — failed in their work of translation; the general character of their mission seems to have been on a par with their literary productions. « A more unhappy state of things than what existed in the mission family at Serampore, » says the historian of Protestant Missions, « it is not easy to conceive; and then he explains that they were all fighting together, and, as usual, between two texts of Scripture. « Marshman, » he says, was « jealous of any young man of talent, » and « they made the new comers uncomfortable, with the view of getting rid of them, and making them willing to go elsewhere! » They were always quarrelling about money, and their historian adds, « We do not know a more melancholy chapter in the history of missions than is to be found in the various pamphlets connected with the Serampore controversy. » (3)

The Marshman referred to in this account is

(1) *Hist. of Prop. of Christianity*, vol. II, p. 71. Mr Weitbrecht gives nearly the same account of them; *Missions in Bengal*, ch. v, p. 200.

(2) *Periodical Accounts from the Serampore Mission*, passim.

(3) Dr Brown, vol. II, pp. 63-65.

the person whom Rammohun Roy used to perplex, by asking him how he would, on his principles, argue with a Catholic, — a task to which the shrewd Hindoo seems to have suspected he was hardly equal. And he had some reason for the suspicion; since he was personally acquainted with the misadventures of certain Baptist preachers in India, and particularly with the « Rev. William Adams, missionary at Serampore, » who, as Dr Wolff relates, « entered into controversy with Rammohun Roy, and the result was, that he was overcome by his arguments, and the poor man denied his God and Saviour, and is now a most decided infidel and scoffer at divine revelation. » (1) He might also have known the Rev. Mr Thomas, who, after a somewhat agitated career in England, joined the Baptists in India, where, as they reported a little prematurely, « a divine blessing crowned his efforts. » (2) He himself, however, tells us; « Whilst I was destitute of support for myself or my family, one of my relations, » —apparently he had married an Indian woman,— « offered to save me from perishing, on condition of my bowing down to an idol. After some hesitation *I complied*, but I am still attached to the Christian religion. » (3)

And now a word about their so-called converts. We can only take our information from themselves, or other Protestants who knew them. « Their con-

(1) Wolff's *Journal*, p. 44.

(2) *Report of the Committee of the Baptist Missionary Society*, October 7, 1819.

(3) *History of the Missionary Societies*, by Revd T. Smith; vol. I, p. 328.

verts, » says Mr Bowen, « are accused of wallowing in every crime that degrades human nature; » (1) and we shall presently hear the Baptists admitting that the accusation was perfectly just. But unfortunately this is not all. « In their correspondence, » continues Mr Bowen, « it abundantly appears, that they are no strangers to the existence of vicious practices, even in their own society. The crimes of the Hindoos are depicted with a virulence altogether unequalled, while those of their own followers are softened into ' imprudencies, fallings off, irregularities, and unlovely intimacies. ' These are the terms by which fornication and adultery are noticed if the parties happen to be *the brethren.* » (2)

« The converts made by the Baptist Mission, » writes another ardent Protestant a few years later, « are the most wretched creatures imaginable. Under the Baptist system all is dreary. The convert receives the word only, and is left to grope his way in the dark, over obstacles which not one in a hundred surmounts. » (3) Rammohun Roy, — whom Colonel Macdonald with military ardour calls « another Luther, » (4) and the Unitarians claim as « a Hindoo convert to the Christian faith, » — says of the same class; « They are not only idle, debauched repro-

(1) *Missionary Incitement and Hindoo Demoralization*, by John Bowen, p. 27.

(2) P. 34. He adds, in a note, that « these milky expressions frequently occur in Missionary correspondence. » (1821.)

(3) *Fifteen Years in India*, by an Officer in His Majesty's Service, p. 363, (1823).

(4) *The Civilisation and Instruction of the Natives of India*, p. 24.

bates, but gross railers against the truths of Christianity; and are not less loud in accusing the Missionaries of deluding them by false promises, than the former are in stigmatising their own proselytes as ' enemies to the cross of Christ. ' » (1)

We have now only to add, in the last place, that the Baptists themselves admitted the fact. « A great part of the Christian converts, » says Rammohun Roy, petitioned Dr Middleton after this manner. They complained that they had been « seduced by Dr Carey with the hope of support and protection, » but that after having « become objects of contempt and derision to their Hindoo brethren, they experience the fallacy of those promises by which they were deluded, » (2) and beg his interference. An enquiry was instituted, and Dubois, who was on the spot, relates its issue. « About two years before my departure from India, the Protestant Missionaries of Serampore found themselves obliged to expel from their service all their new converts, whom they had employed in their printing establishment, in order to furnish them with the means of subsistence. » Their own explanation offered to Middleton was this. « They had been forced to take this step, because these wretches, *after* being made Christians, became so vicious and intemperate, that they were afraid the example of their daily scandals *would ruin all their pagan workmen.* » (3)

In 1839, that we may trace their history up to the present hour, we have once more a specimen of

(1) *Defence of the Precepts of Jesus*, by Rammohun Roy, p. 74.
(2) P. 76.
(3) *Asiatic Journal*, vol. XIX, p. 765.

Baptist converts, which may remind us of the Anglican neophytes in China. Mr Lang relates in that year that an educated native, holding a government office, assured him that all the nominal Protestants, of whatever sect, « only assume Christianity in the hope of temporal advantage and preferment, and fling aside their newly put-on faith, and laugh and scoff at your credulity, the moment they find their hope frustrated. I could give you at least a hundred instances, but one will suffice. Not long ago a Mussulman, named Ally Khan, was converted by Mr Jones, a missionary in Calcutta, and, shortly after his conversion, obtained an appointment with a salary of a hundred rupees a month, in the Baptist Missionary Society. Here he contrived to embezzle sixteen hundred rupees, for which offence he was indicted in the Supreme Court, found guilty, and sentenced to a year's imprisonment in the Calcutta gaol. On hearing the sentence he exclaimed : ' In the name of the devil, is this the reward of renouncing my religion? Farewell, Christianity! from this hour I am a Moslem again. » (1)

Such have been the boasted missionary successes of the Baptists. And it is from their co-religionists that we learn the facts which they themselves long attempted to conceal. « The Baptist missionaries of Serampore, » says Rammohun Roy in a letter to the Rev. H. Wade, « always give a flat denial to any one who expresses the slightest doubt of their success, but the Baptist missionaries at Calcutta are sincere enough to acknowledge publicly, that after a

(1) *Wanderings in India*, by John Lang, p, 224.

painful toil of six years the number of their converts does not exceed four; while the Independants, whose resources far exceed those of the Baptists, acknowledge that in seven years they have only made one proselyte. » (1) « In looking back on the Serampore Mission, » says Dr Brown, in spite of his Protestant sympathies, « it is impossible not to be struck with the fact, how much the results fell short of the great expectations which were long entertained of it. Nearly every department has proved a failure. It would almost seem as if God had inscribed on the Serampore Mission, ' I will stain the pride of all glory. ' » (2)

And now we have nearly completed our review, and have only to state, in conclusion, what have been the actual results, up to the present hour, of Protestant Missions in India, including the operations of all the various sects, as they are revealed to us by their own agents and friends. The testimony is copious, and much of it may be deemed superfluous; but in demonstrating facts which so many passions and prejudices conspire to pervert and misrepresent, it is expedient rather to err by excess than defect.

We have seen, in the earlier part of this chapter, what was accomplished in India by Catholic Missionaries, and what was the manner of their life. We have seen also some features of the contrast which exists between them and the Protestant emissaries, both in personal character and in the results of their labour. Before we complete that contrast, it is ne-

(1) Quoted in the *Annales*, tome IV, p. 194.
(2) *Hist. Prop. Chrisiianity*, vol. II, p. 75.

cessary to notice a special circumstance which constitutes an important preliminary distinction between the two classes, and the nature of which can be indicated in a few words.

The Catholic Missionaries, as we have seen, had to contend, from the first moment of their arrival, with difficulties and obstacles which can only be compared with those which the first apostles of Christianity encountered and overcame. *They* were not masters and rulers in the country which they sought to evangelise, but helpless sojourners, and they came of a hated and despised race. They had no human aids, no political succour. During the latter part of their career they had even to endure the active hostility of other European tribes, who seized their property or converted their churches to profane uses, and who were known by the natives as lords and conquerors. It was only by the exercise of powers belonging to the supernatural order that they could hope to prevail. Yet their success, we know, was complete.

The English, on the contrary, have enjoyed every human advantage which in such an enterprise it was possible to possess. « The prestige of the British name, » says a Protestant missionary, « attaches itself to the evangelist. He also meets with considerable attention and regard from the people, as being identified with the rulers of their country. » (1) « In our Indian empire, » observes another Protestant writer, « strong Civil Power and a full representa-

(1) *India and the Gospel*, by Revd Wm Clarkson, Lect. IV, p. 165.

tion of the constituent functions of our episcopal church combine to promote and propagate the faith. » (1) And this obvious advantage has been often noticed. « England, » says an American writer, « rules by her laws and arms over one hundred and fifty millions of pagans, and by her policy and influence over three hundred millions more, who are all accessible by Christian effort. As the result of all this, Christianity is placed in the most favourable position for making aggressions upon pagan idolatry. » (2) « In other words, England has long occupied with respect to India a more favourable position than the Church held towards the Roman world after three centuries of bloody persecution. « There is no heathen country, » Dr Corrie used to say, « where a Missionary can do so much good, with so little personal inconvenience. » (3) « The temptations of the Missionary here, » one of their number confesses, « are not connected with hardships and self-denial; the liberal allowance of the Society and the state of the country forbid this. » (4) « We have been masters of the whole peninsula, » observes a recent writer, « and our missionaries have enjoyed many advantages, which of necessity arise from that circumstance. » (5)

But this is not all. In addition to the facilities derived from their connection with the dominant

(1) *Christian Researches*, etc., by Revd Wm Jowett, p. 356.

(2) Dr Stephen Olin, *Works*, vol. II, p. 347, (1853).

(3) Quoted in *Abolition of Female Infanticide in Guzerat*, by the Revd John Cormack M. A., ch. XIV, p. 306.

(4) *Memoir of John Adam*, late Missionary at Calcutta, p. 226.

(5) *The Theory and Practice of Caste*, ch. V, p. 119,

power, and the motives which powerfully influence the subject natives to accept the instructions of their masters and patrons, we must reckon the vast material resources at their disposal. To build churches, to found colleges and schools, to endow orphanages, to recompense catechists and teachers with ample salaries, and to attract a sordid and impoverished race with the offer of assured subsistence, — all this was as easy to Protestant as it was impossible to Catholic missionaries. « *Twenty two* evangelical societies, » we are told, « English, American, or German, supply the magnificent annual subsidy of 187,000 l. sterling — » (1) a sum which has subsequently attained far larger proportions. Twenty years ago, and the number is now greatly increased, « ninety Chaplains cost the Company annually 88,000. l. » (2) We have seen that in the province of Madura sixty-two Catholic missionaries consumed only 1,500 l.; so that each Protestant cost exactly forty times as much as each Catholic missionary. The mere travelling expenses of Protestant missionaries had cost, up to 1839, 260,000 l. (3) In 1851, the cost of the Anglican establishment alone was 112,000 l.; and in the following year, a Presbyterian writer boasted, with more truth than prudence, that the yearly expenditure of Protestant missions in India alone was « about one fifth *more* than is annually raised for Papal mis-

(1) *Les Anglais et L'Inde*, par E. de Valbezen, ch. III, p. 162. Mr Mullens says, in 1854, « they spend nearly 200,000 a year. » *Missions in S. India*, Introd. p. 3, Cf. *India in* 1858, by Arthur Mills esq., M. P.

(2) Howard Malcolm, vol. II, p. 323.

(3) *Id.*, p. 279.

sions in all parts of the world. » (1) In 1850, the Government expended on the Anglo-Indian « established » church 107,855 l., though, as Protestants have told us, her clergy « might as well be in England as in India » as far as the interests of the natives are concerned; while they gave to the Catholics of India the sum of 5,467 l. — or 24 l. less than they bestowed within the same twelvemonth upon a single individual, the Protestant bishop of Calcutta. (2) Well might a modern Catholic missionary, struggling with poverty amid thousands of Christians as poor as himself, exclaim; — « The Protestants expend immense sums, particularly in the South. How happy shall we be if, on our side, we can add to the flock of the Good Shepherd, not by purchasing christians, but by establishing schools, employing catechists, and erecting chapels. » (3)

If, however, there is so great a disproportion between the material resources which the two classes respectively command, it must be admitted that the contrast between the personal qualifications which they bring to their task is not less conspicuous. Fleury remarks, in his *Memoirs on the studies necessary for the Eastern missions*, that we discern « in the Fathers, and especially in St. Clement of Alexandria and St. Austin, a wonderful knowledge of the Poets, Historians, and other heathen writers, and a perfect acquaintance with the errors which they wished to

(1) *The Darkness and the Dawn in India*, by John Wilson D. D., F. R. S., p. 60.

(2) *Present Position of Catholics in India*, by the Rev^d W. Strickland, p. 6.

(3) *Annals*, vol. I, p. 178.

combat. » We have seen how de' Nobili, de Britto, Beschi, and others, used the same exact knowledge in their apostolic conflicts with the learned Hindoos. Such attainments, however, are deemed wholly superfluous by Protestant missionaries. So entirely void are even the Anglican clergy, who are probably a higher class than those of other sects, of this indispensable knowledge, that « Bishop Corrie used to say, that it was a mercy if a missionary did no harm in his first year. » (1) Dr Buchanan also observes,— « I have sometimes been ashamed to see the Christian missionary put to silence by the intelligent Brahmin. » (2) « Not unfrequently, » says a candid American writer, « when the young missionary is preaching, and making, as he supposes, his triumphant assaults on the system of the people, is the native scholar seen to throw out his significant glances, indicating, what he will sometimes express in words, — ' The young man is ignorant, he knows nothing about us. ' » (3) « Not one of us, » says a German missionary in the Nicobar Islands, » ever learnt the Nicobar language so perfectly as to be able clearly to explain the will of God concerning our salvation to the natives. » (4) So he and his companions employed their leisure time in collecting shells for sale. « Never will conversion be wrought among the Hindoos, » says an Indian author, « by the present system of the missionaries, ignorant of their philosophy, and

(1) *Bengal as a Field of Missions*, by M. Wylie esq., p. 25.
(2) *A Sermon*, by the Revd Claudius Buchanan, D. D., p. 21.
(3) *Journal of American Oriental Society*, vol. II, p, 150.
(4) *Letters on the Nicobar Islands*, by the Revd C. J. Latrobe, p. 65.

even of the religion they would combat. » (1) Lastly, Mr Russell makes, in 1859, the following judicious remarks. « So long as a Christian minister can argue with a moulvie or pundit with patience and ingenuity, he will be listened to with interest and respect; he will be permitted to expound the Scriptures, and to warn his hearers against the errors of their faith, provided that he refrains from insulting, contemptuous, and irritating language; but if he be a mere ignorant illiterate zealot, without any qualification (temporally speaking) except a knowledge of Hindostanee and good intentions, he may be exposed to the laughter, scorn, and even abuse of the crowded bazaar, in consequence of his manifest inability to meet the subtle objections of his keen and practised opponents. From what I have heard I regret to state my conviction is, that no considerable success, so far as human means are concerned, can be expected from the efforts of those who are like the ancient Apostles in all things but their inspiration and heavenly help. » (2) And the heathen have reasoned exactly like Mr Russell. « If Paul, who was undoubtedly a prophet, » said an educated Hindoo to Captain Seely, « made no effect on King Agrippa, how am I to be persuaded by those who are neither saints nor prophets? » (3)

If, however, the Protestant emissaries in India had all been distinguished by learning and ability, we may safely infer, from the examples of Heber and Martyn, that their failure would have been equally

(1) Graham's *Letters on India*, p. 284.
(2) *The Times*, March 17, 1859.
(3) *The Wonders of Elora*, ch. XIX, p, 469.

conspicuous. How great that failure has been, we are now to hear from their own mouths, or from the confessions of their associates and friends.

Beginning with the year 1809, from which date we will advance, through a cloud of witnesses, to the present time, we have the following statement by an ardent supporter of the Anglican establishment. « Although there have been missionaries in India for above a hundred years, they have not made any converts of consequence, *nor converted as many families as their own number has amounted to.* » (1) Thirteen years later, we are told by Mr Townley, a Protestant missionary, — « When I left Bengal, there was *one* Hindoo, concerning whom the missionaries in Calcutta had hopes . . . and he has been actually baptized. » (2) « Three years after, the Calcutta Missionary Society still report, that they are « seriously and painfully impressed with the little success which has hitherto attended their labours among the heathen. » Exactly thirty years later, Mr Campbell declares once more, — « As regards the great provinces of Bengal and Hindostan, no material religious impression on the population either has been made, *or is now being made.* » (3) He does not, of course, mean to assert that there were no nominal converts, for of them we have such descriptions as the following. A native told an American traveller, in 1858, that « all the Khitmutgras in Calcutta were Christian. I was surprised to hear this, and asked him to

(1) *The Dangers of British India*, by David Hopkins, H. E. I. C. S., p. 27.

(2) *An Answer to the Abbé Dubois*, by Henry Townley, p. 109.

(3) *India as it may be*, ch. VIII, p. 395.

what church they belonged. ' Oh, Sir, ' he replied, ' they do not belong to any church, but they will all eat pork and drink brandy. ' » Such was the popular Hindoo notion of a « christian. » Yet even such « converts » as these, as Mr Ludlow remarked in the same year, « are less than one in three thousand, after nearly a century of English rule ! » (1) « Numerically, » said another protestant missionary, in 1850, « the converts from among *European* and East Indian Society have far exceeded those which have been granted from among the heathen. » (2) Such have been the admitted results of all the missionary efforts in the Bengal Presidency.

Let us turn now to Madras. In 1821 Mr Bowen gives the following account. « In a late report of the Madras Committee to the Church Missionary Society, we find that ' twenty heathens have been admitted as catechumens, and commenced a course of preparatory instruction. Only *one* individual of the whole number has abided the test, ' » Upon which Mr Bowen adds; « For some time the London Committee concealed the fact, lest the subscriptions should be withdrawn from so hopeless an enterprise : They say, ' the particulars were witheld from the Society, while the issue seemed to be doubtful. As unhappily that appears to be no longer the case, the Committee will give some account etc. » (3) Nearly twenty years

(1) *From New York to Delhi*, by Robert B. Minturn Jun., ch. XVI, p. 152.

(2) *British India*, by John Malcolm Ludlow, vol. II, p. 366.

(3) *India and the Gospel*, by the Revd Wm Clarkson, Lect. V, p. 220.

(4) *Missionary Incitement*, etc., p. 10.

later, in 1839, a Protestant missionary writes as follows of Madras. « As to real converts, one missionary thought there were but two or three in the whole city and suburbs : Another thought there were not half a dozen, at the utmost. No one supposed there were more than that number. » (1) When Mr Baber, chief Judge of the Provincial Court of Madras, was examined before a Committee of the House of Lords, he said ; « *No such thing is known* as a convert by any of our English missionaries. » (2) Still later, in 1847, « the natives of Madras presented a petition to Government, signed by more than twelve thousand of the Hindu community, expressing bitter animosity against the missionaries. » (3) And yet an Anglican Chaplain declares of the Madras Presidency, — « it may be emphatically and truly designated *the* missionary diocese of India! » (4) It is true that he adds one of those marvellous statements, which so often proceed from the Anglican clergy, and which alone would suffice to explain the sterility of their labours. « The Romanist idea, » says this gentleman, « that baptism must precede all Christian teaching, is utterly repudiated. » (5)

If now we turn to Bombay, the Report of the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Scottish Missionary Society contains these words; « The missionaries

(1) Howard Malcolm, vol. II, ch. II, p. 59.

(2) *Asiatic Journal*, vol. IV, p. 316; New Series.

(3) *India and the Gospel*, Lect. IV, p. 203.

(4) *Sketch of the Established Church in India*, by Edward Whitehead, M. A., Chaplain to the Bishop of Madras, ch. VII, p. 100.

(5) *Ibid.*, ch. VIII, p. 134.

cannot as yet say that any actual conversions to Christianity have been made by them. » (1) In 1838, the Rev. J. H. Gray writes; « I can say nothing encouraging. The carelessness and apathy of the people, and their great ignorance of the plainest truths, have often compelled me to enquire, what inducement they had to become Christians? » (2) And once more, the present « Bishop of Bombay assents to what is said on all hands, that there are but few native Christians of undoubted sincerity. » (3) Nor can we be surprised at this when we learn what examples they have before their eyes of endless confusion and schism among their Protestant teachers. Thus, of the Presbyterian sect at Bombay we are told, in 1852; « The Scotch ecclesiastical establishment consists of two churches, now unhappily opposed to each other. » (4) And again; « by the secession in 1843, the Church of Scotland was deprived of all her missionaries in India. » (5) And this event, we are told by the same writer, was celebrated in a Sermon by Dr Duff, « in a strain of exaggeration seldom equalled, and never surpassed. » In presence of such facts we have no reason to wonder at the acknowledged results, up to the present time, of all the Protestant missions, in the three capitals of British India.

If now we enquire what has been the success in

(1) *Asiatic Journal*, vol. XXIV, p. 197.

(2) *Hist. of Prop. of Christianity*, etc., vol. II, p. 333.

(3) *Out and Home*, by the Revd H. Tupper, p. 152.

(4) *Life in Bombay*, ch. XII, p. 231, (1852).

(5) *Missions of the Church of Scotland*, by the Revd James Macfarlane, p. 74

other fields of what is gravely called « missionary enterprise, » we shall find it to be every where of the same character. The following may be taken as examples.

Of *Tranquebar*, after so many years of lavish expenditure, we are told by a Protestant clergyman, that « in 1816 only three missionaries remained in connection with this once flourishing field, and two of these were supported by English funds. » (1) Twenty-three years later an American missionary adds, — « There is now almost no visible effect of missionary labour there... *the mission is entirely relinquished.* It is the opinion of some of the best informed persons in that region, that many of our missionaries have been unconverted men. If such be the fact, the wonder ceases. » (2)

Of *Tanjore*, the scene of the labours of Schwartz, we have already heard from one Protestant missionary that « no vital religion is found in any of the native Christians; » and from another, that « a Tanjore Christian has become a bye word. »

Of the converts of *Tinnevelly*, of whom even the Anglican clergy have imprudently boasted, the historian of Protestant Missions thus speaks. « Though most of them could not be deemed Christians, and but a small proportion of them were baptized, yet it was considered as something that they had forsaken their idols. » And again; « As whole villages came forward asking instruction, so whole villages also fell away. » And once more; « Though there has

(1) *The Land of the Veda*, ch. XVIII, p. 426.
(2) Howard Malcolm, ch. II, p. 69.

been an extensive profession of Christianity in Tinnevelly, and a considerable outward improvement of the people, » thanks to English money, « we have no idea that there has been much spiritual good effected in that country. » (1)

Of *Benares* a Lutheran writer says, the work « takes but little root here, although there are fourteen mission schools. » (2)

Of *Travancore*, after boasting of earlier conversions, Mr Clarkson sorrowfully confesses; « The number has since been reduced, there having been several relapses. » (3)

Of the reputed conversions at *Krishnagar* a native protestant minister told Mrs Colin Mackenzie, in 1853, that « he attributed the exaggerated accounts to the necessity of creating a sensation at home at public meetings in order to raise money; » and she adds, from her own observation, that « their Christianity consists in nothing but renunciation of idols... one did not even know who Jesus was. » (4)

Of *Central India* generally, an experienced Protestant missionary says; « I have met with native Christians who have been baptized, some on the eastern, some on the western coast, and others at more southern stations, — lamentable to say, they were not to be known from the heathen but in name! » (5)

« In *Western India*, » the same competent witness

(1) *Hist. of Prop. of Christianity*, etc., vol. II, p. 345.
(2) *Travels in India*, by Leopold Von Orlich, vol. II, p. 137.
(3) *India and the Gospel*, Lect. V, p. 232.
(4) *Six Years in India*, vol. I, ch. II, p. 75.
(5) *India and the Gospel*, Lect. VI, p. 324.

declares, « conversions have been scanty... for more than two hundred years have the natives of Western India been conversant with Europeans, but hitherto they have yielded but few converts to Christ. » (1)

Of *Northern India* Dr Hoffmeister, who accompanied Prince Waldemar of Prussia in the campaign against the Sikhs, says ; « Though the natives come, apparently only from curiosity, to the church, and send their children to school, not one of them however has been baptized as yet. » (2)

Of *Southern India*, the chief field of Protestant effort, a capable Protestant witness thus speaks, in 1860. « The conclusion to which we have come is this — either that missionary operations have already reached and *passed* their culminating point; or at any rate, that there are most unmistakeable and undeniable signs that under the *present system* of operations, they will advance no further, but will, on the other hand, in all probability *retrograde*, and that speedily. » And then this writer expresses the conviction, that « Sawyerpooram and other places, which are now like household words on the lips of persons interested in missionary successes, are rapidly sinking to the level of Tanjore and Trichinopoly. » Finally, he adds, — « After 1846 the onward movement of Christianity in South India seems to have ceased. The harvest was passed, the summer ended. » (3)

In more remote provinces the facts are still more gloomy. In *Nepaul*, a British official informs us, not

(1) *Ibid.*, Lect. V, p. 231.
(2) *Travels in Ceylon and Continental India*, p. 474.
(3) *Christian Remembrancer*, July, 1860, pp. 63-5.

a single convert has ever been made by Protestants, though all political influences are in their favour; « but the Rewar families have embraced Christianity — Catholicism is their form of Christianity. » (1)

Of *Scinde* we are told, by Mr Clarkson, that it « has never been trodden by the foot of the Christian preacher; » while of the *Punjab*, — which, the same writer says, in 1850, « with a European climate and fertile country, awaits evangelistic efforts; » — we have the following account, in 1854, from the celebrated Major Hodson, in a letter of the 2nd of January, 1854, to his father, the Archdeacon of Stafford. « You evidently do not appreciate the state of things in these provinces. There are but two churches in the Punjab; and there will be an electric telegraph to Peshawur before a church is commenced there, though the station has been one for years. In the first season a large Roman Catholic Chapel was built there, and an Italian Priest from the Propaganda busy in his vocation. I offered Mr Clarke, » a Protestant chaplain, « all the aid in my power, though I told him candidly that I thought he had not much chance of success here. A large sum has been raised at Peshawur for the Mission, but unfortunately they have gone wild with theories about the lost tribes and fulfilment of prophecies respecting the Jews, which has given a somewhat visionary character to their plans. Mr C. wanted me to think that these Euzofzai Pathans were Ben-i-Israel, and asked me whether I had heard them call themselves

(1) *Five Years at Nepaul*, by Captain Thomas Smith, Assist. Political Resident; vol. I, ch. VI, p. 143.

so; and he was aghast when I said they were as likely to talk of Ben d'Israeli. » (1) It may be added, in confirmation of the above allusion to Peshawur, that Captain Hervey complained as late as 1850, — « At many of our stations there is not such a building even as a church, whilst the Papists invariably have some place of worship; » (2) and General Parlby notices the same contrast in the following year, when he says, — « The Church of Rome has of late years wonderfully extended the field of its operations. There is scarcely a station... which is not provided with its chapel and its priests. » (3)

It is worthy of remark that Colonel Addison speaks, in 1858, of a M^r^ Clarke, who was perhaps the same gentleman referred to by Major Hodson as having « gone wild » about the Ben-i-Israel. He was sent out by the « Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, » and Colonel Addison gives this account of him. « His talents were of the highest order, his zeal well known; and it was therefore most sanguinely expected that his mission would be crowned with success. After several ineffectual attempts to convert the natives, poor Clarke returned in despair to Calcutta, feeling more than half inclined to start for Europe, so much did he take his repeated failures to heart. » (4)

Hitherto we have heard evidence only with respect to particular cities; let us now introduce the wit-

(1) *Memoirs*, by his brother, p. 144.

(2) *Ten Years in India*, vol. II, ch. II, p. 47.

(3) *The Establishment*, etc., p. 16.

(4) *Traits of Anglo-Indian Life*, by Lieut. Col. Addison, p. 165. (1853).

nesses who record their experience of the *general* results of Protestant Missions throughout India.

« Christianity, » says one who was long the associate of Protestant Missionaries, « makes little or no progress. I used to enquire of the missionaries, whenever I had an opportunity, how many Hindoos or Mahomedans they had converted during the time of their mission, and in general the answer was *one*, or sometimes *none*. » (1)

« A person who has sojourned thirty years in India, » says M. Peschier, President of the Missionary Society at Geneva, « preaching to unbelievers, declares to us that he has not been able to work a single conversion. » (2)

« Whoever has seen much of Hindoo Christians, » says a celebrated writer, « must have perceived, that the man who bears that name is very commonly nothing more than a drunken reprobate who conceives himself at liberty to eat or drink anything he pleases. » And he adds, that the custom of paying such converts was so universal, that « the slightest success in Hindostan would eat up the revenues of the East India Company. » (3)

Mr C. S. John, the « Senior of the Royal Danish Mission at Tranquebar, » confirms this statement, as far as their receiving « support in victuals and clothing. » (4) Mr Malcolm Lewin tells us, in 1857, that « an inquiry made some years ago at Bangalore, by a deputation from one of the Societies in England,

(1) Ida Pfeiffer, *Voyage round the World*, p. 116.
(2) *Asiatic Journal*, vol. XIX, p. 230.
(3) *Edinburgh Review*, vol. XII, p. 161.
(4) *On Indian Civilisation*, p. 3.

resulted in the discovery that the converts and their families were nearly all of them stipendiaries of the mission; » (1) and another writer says of the Baptist converts, « the whole of them were rescued from poverty, and procured a comfortable subsistence by their conversion. » (2)

Mr Marsh gave to the House of Commons, in a speech already quoted, the following description of Protestant converts in India. « They are drawn from the Chandalahs, or Pariars, or *outcasts;* a portion of the population who are shut out from the Hindoo religion, and who, being condemned to the lowest poverty and the most sordid occupations, are glad to procure, by what the Missionaries call conversion, whatever pittance they are enabled to dole out for their subsistence. » He added, that all classes are united « in one common sentiment of contempt for the Pariars, amongst whom they class the Christian missionary and his convert, the pastor and his disciple. »

Dr Bryce, a Presbyterian minister, declared, in a sermon preached by him at Calcutta, — « Alas! it may be doubted if at this day the Christian Missionary boasts *a single proselyte* to his creed over whom he is warranted to rejoice; » and another witness remarks upon his words, — « this is the opinion of a learned and pious clergyman, delivered to a congregation who possessed ample means of ascertaining its correctness. » (3)

(1) *The Way to lose India*, p. 17, (1857).

(2) *Observations on the Present State of the E. I. Company*, p. 61.

(3) *Missionary Incitement*, etc., p. 71.

« The *outcasts* have indeed joined the missionaries, » says a British official, « and have appeared as of their faith; but the conduct of these outcasts has generally proved that they professed what they did not feel, and has considerably influenced the higher orders in their prejudices against Christianity. » (1)

« The Missionaries long since stated, » says Mr Bowen, « that ' their anxiety to obtain converts seemed to be changed into anxiety about those who were obtained.' » (2)

« The greater number, » we are told by Rammohun Roy, who professes to be a Christian, « have been allured to change their faith by other attractions than by a conviction of the truth and reasonableness of the doctrine, as we find nearly all of them are employed or fed by their spiritual teachers, and in case of neglect are apt to manifest a rebellious spirit. » (3)

« In some places, » says the Rev. Howard Malcolm, in 1839, « numerous individuals have openly renounced caste, and become nominal christians, but without indicating or *professing* change of heart. » (4)

Captain Seely heard a Sepoy, who had been flogged and drummed out of his corps for theft, answer to the reproach, « You have lost your caste, » by these words; « Have I? then I can always turn Christian. » (5) And this motive for professing what is called « christianity » is further illustrated by a

(1) *The Dangers of British India*, by David Hopkins, of the E. I. C. Bengal Medical Establishment, p. 27.

(2) *Missionary Incitement*, etc., p, 66.

(3) *Defence of the Precepts of Jesus*, p. 20.

(4) *Travels in S. Eastern Asia*, vol. II, ch. I, p. 43.

(5) *The Wonders of Elora*, ch. XIX, p. 476.

writer in 1853, who tells us; « A man stopped Mr Janvier, » a Protestant missionary, « in the bazaar at Loodiana, saying he was willing to be a Christian, and wishing to know how much he would give? Another came to one of our missionaries, and said, they dressed so cleanly, and fed so well, that he would like to be a Christian. » (1)

Nor, as we advance towards the present hour, do we find the least variation in the evidence. « We are not aware, » says Dr Ruschenberger, in 1838, « of more than three or four distinguished instances of conversion to Christianity effected by missionaries. » (2) « Most of the people forming the congregation, » says Dr Brown, « are christians only in name. » (3) And thus they all speak to the end.

In 1843, Count de Warren says, — « The influence of the English Missions is an absolute nullity; they reckon no other proselytes than orphans whom the Missionaries purchase, and who, when they grow up, *all return to the religion of their countrymen*. It must be confessed too that the followers of Christ scarcely manifest more charity or more humility them those of Brahma or Mahomet. » (4)

In 1844, Mr Wilkinson, a Protestant missionary, noticing the inconvenience of the multiplicity of Christian sects, and the fact that they only win their disciples at each other's expense, relates, that

(1) *Six Years in India*, vol. II, ch. III, p. 78.

(2) *Voyage Round the World*, by W. S. W. Ruschenberger, M. D., p. 126.

(3) *Hist. Prop. Christianity*, vol. II, p. 250.

(4) *L'Inde Anglaise*, tome III, ch. XII, p. 229.

« when the offender finds that his crime has been detected, rather than be openly reproved, he generally goes over to some of the different communities of Christians, in hopes of a reception. » (1) And each sect counts him again as a new convert.

In 1850, General Briggs notices, that of the whole number of nominal converts throughout all the provinces of India, even the missionaries themselves reckon less than one sixth as « church members: » (2) and in the same year, Mr Ward, a Protestant missionary, confesses that « the whole number of converts to Christianity, » in any sense whatever, is not one tenth of that claimed in missionary reports. (3) While even of these Captain Hervey says, — « The converts become *worse than they were before*... the worst characters in our regiments are christians. » And then he adds a fact, of which the importance consists in this, that it reveals the secret opinion of the whole English population of India as to the true character of Protestant « converts. » Whenever a native, he says « presents himself for employment as a servant, » if he professes to be a Christian, « *he is not taken*, because all christians, with but few exceptions, are looked upon as great vagabonds, » — that is, in his own words, « as rascals, drunkards, thieves, and reprobates. » (4) And this is so notorious, that the Rev. William Clarkson affirms, in the same year, after

(1) *Sketches of Christianity in N. India*, by the Revd M. Wilkinson, p. 304.

(2) *India and Europe Compared*, ch. VI, p. 173.

(3) *India and the Hindoos*, by F. de W. Ward, late Missionary at Madras, ch. XXII, p. 337.

(4) *Ten Years in India*, vol. I, ch. V, p. 105.

long experience, — « It seems as though calls had been reiterated till they had become powerless; but as yet no issue!... Every gate seems to have been shut, every channel damned up, by which gospel streams might force their way. » (1)

In 1852, Mr Campbell says, — « It must be admitted that the attempt to christianise the natives *has entirely failed;* we have made some infidels, but very few sincere Christians, and are not likely, on the present system, to make many more. » (2)

In 1853, — for we must pursue the narrative to the end, — Baron Eric Von Schonberg writes thus. « Missionaries announcing the conversion of a solitary Hindoo, among thousands of unbelievers, are themselves frequently members of some straggling sect, and too often the instruments of fanatical bigotry. » (3)

« They exhibit the signs of conversion, » says Mr Irving in the same year, « more often by eating beef and by intoxication than by excellence of character. They consequently find a difficulty in obtaining employment even from the English, and either from their necessities or inclination are to be seen, with a Bible in one hand, and a petition in the other, wandering through the country, soliciting the alms of Europeans... Their irregularities and lax morality have, on many occasions, shocked the feelings of even their heathen countrymen. » And then he notices, in order to expose, an immoral and mercenary

(1) *Lecture* V, p. 221.

(2) *Modern India*, p. 208.

(3) *Travels in India and Kashmir*, by Baron Erich Von Schonberg, p, 195.

fiction, « the convert such as he figures in the pages of missionary pamphlets — at first a heathen foul with every crime, and then a Christian redolent with every virtue! » (1)

In 1856, Mr Walter Gibson quotes this private confession of an American missionary made to himself. « The millions and hundreds of millions in the East pass away, uninfluenced *to the slightest extent* by European dominion and enlightenment. » (2)

In 1857, M. de Valbezen, who appears to affect in religion the cold impartiality which some Frenchmen mistake for greatness of mind, says; « The preaching of the Protestant Missionaries has not produced the least impression; » and then he adds, that if any change occurred in the government of India, « there are very few indeed of their converts who would not relapse into the gross errors of their native religions. » (3)

In 1858, we have the following testimonies. « The converts, » says Mr Minturn, « are few, and mostly of the most degraded classes. » (4) « The native converts to Christianity, » writes Mr Malcolm Ludlow at the same moment, « I have not even numbered amongst the distinctively Christian elements, *so uninfluential are they for the most part.* » (5) And Sir James Brooke sums up the whole history, when he tells the Missionary Societies of England, « With the Mahomedan you have made no progress; with the

(1) *The Theory and Practice of Caste*, p. 146.
(2) *The Prison of Wetevreden*, etc., p. 399.
(3) *Les Anglais et l'Inde*, ch. III, p. 164.
(4) *From New York to Delhi*, ch. XVIII, p. 179.
(5) *British India*, vol. I, p. 102.

Hindoo you have made no progress at all; you are just where you were *the very first day you went to India.* » (1)

In 1859, Captain Evans Bell says once more, « I doubt whether the missionaries will *ever* do any good; » (2) and Mr Ludlow adds, « We have to take account of the *growing* distrust of and dislike to Christianity, on the part of both Hindoo and Moslem. » (3) Lastly in 1860, Mr Russell fitly closes the series by the grave announcement, that « *in despair*, many Christians in India are driven to wish and pray that some one or some way may arise for converting the Indians by the sword. » (4)

Such, by their own confession, have been the results of all the missionary efforts of twenty-two Protestant missionary societies in India, employing nearly one thousand agents, commanding unlimited temporal resources, and assisted by a combination of every human advantage which could facilitate the prosecution of such a work. Once more they confess that they have failed. « It is enough, » says a leading organ of Anglicanism in 1860, « to break the heart of any one who ever hoped to see India evangelised by means of the English Church. » (5) Perhaps such a history might have suggested something more than barren lamentations, especially to men who could thus describe all its phases. « It

(1) *Speech at Liverpool; The Times*, 29 september, 1858.

(2) *The English in India*, p. 185.

(3) *Thoughts on the Policy of the Crown towards India*, Letter XVI, p. 214.

(4) *Diary in India*, vol. II, ch. VIII, p. 150.

(5) *Christian Remembrancer*, July 1860.

makes the heart ache to read the history of Protestant missions in India for nearly 200 years. Over and over again, at Tranquebar, at Trichinopoly, at Vellore, at Tanjore, and a hundred other places, we meet almost invariably the same melancholy story. The Gospel is preached by holy and devoted men, like Swartz, and Kohloff, and Ziegenbalg ; » — not one of whom believed in Anglicanism, though this writer is obliged to name Lutherans and Calvinists in default of others; — « for a little while all seems to flourish : then comes, first a period when no further advance is made, then deeper stagnation, the death of the old foreign pastors, then a grievous decline, and last the complete extinguishing of the native Church in that particular spot, or else its sinking into torpidity resembling a state of living death, and the removal of its candlestick out of its place. » (1) It is a Protestant who narrates with so much accuracy the failure of Protestant missions in India, and who seems to have suspected, at least for a moment, its true explanation. « Is not the truth this, » he asks, — though apparently without pausing to answer his own question, — « that the Anglican Church has forgotten to work after the apostolic model? »

Once more we have traced a contrast. In China, an English writer has proclaimed what he calls « the unwelcome truth » that it is only the Catholic missionaries who succeed, while Protestantism « does not find acceptance » with its people. In India, as a writer quoted by M^r^ Mill in his well known history

(1) *Id.*, October, 1859, p. 377.

affirms, « the Protestant form of worship is little adapted to the narrow and contracted ideas of the Hindoos, » — though it is notorious that the Hindoo has a more logical and subtle mind than any pagan race now existing, and that he constantly confounds the Protestant missionary in the discussions which the latter sometimes provokes, but always to his own disadvantage. « The Roman Catholic, » adds the same writer, « has certainly been more successful in calling these deluded children to its bosom. » (1) We shall find the same singular language employed, to explain this perpetually recurring fact, in many other lands. Yet if Protestantism were the true form of Christianity, it would be « adapted » to the wants of all mankind. « For the word of God, » as the great Apostle declares, « is living and effectual, and more piercing than any two edged sword. » (2) It is the word of man which is feeble and ineffective, and « little adapted » to prevail against the superstitions of Hindoo or Chinese. We shall see, in the course of these pages, that « the Protestant form of worhip » has been rejected by the heathen in every other land, as peremptorily as in India and China; and that of all the same account may be given which an Anglican writer gave not long since, in the pages of the *Times* newspaper, when he provoked the anger of less candid co-religionists by frankly confessing, that « the great Christian movement in India has been hitherto Roman Catholic » — a fact proclaimed in earlier times by an English

(1) *Sketches of India*, ch. VI, p. 86.
(2) *Heb.* IV, 12.

writer, who founded upon it a hope not destined to be realised, when he exclaimed, in words already quoted, « The Catholics, ages back, have converted numbers in India; why then should Protestants despair? »

Thus far we have seen that Protestantism has utterly failed to propagate Christianity in India, but this would be only an imperfect account of its real influence in that land. Would that the results of its presence had been simply negative! In China it created, after fifty years of labour, the blasphemous sect of Tae-ping; in Hindostan it has begotten a generation of atheists.

When the agents of English and American religions, who at least are not deficient in energy, discovered that sermons and tracts, bishops and missionaries, were perfectly ineffective, they resolved, with characteristic tenacity of purpose, to call into action a new system of *propaganda*, and to inaugurate a vast and elaborate scheme by which they still hoped to convert defeat into victory. Having failed to convert the Hindoo by bibles or preaching, they resolved to try the effect of education. When we have learned what they have attempted in this way, and with what results, we shall have completed our task, and exhausted the whole field of Protestant agency in India.

« Experience has proved, » says an eye witness in 1857, « that scholars in the Indian Colleges, who would take honorable rank in the universities of Europe, relapse, as soon as they quit the colleges, into the degrading practices of the very religions which their enlightened judgment secretly condemns.

The colleges of India receive fanatical idolaters, they disgorge only hypocrites. » (1) This melancholy truth we shall now prove by such an accumulation of Protestant testimony as to render all doubt or hesitation impossible.

The official expenditure on native education in India is now about 200,000 l. per annum. In 1836, there were already in a single province « thirty institutions for the education of youth, at a total expense of 33,519 l. 11 s. » (2) In the following year they had increased to thirty eight, which cost rather more than 1,000 l. each. Since that date, they have multiplied in all directions; for besides the government institutions, every sect has its own, and they are established, as in Heber's time, in opposition to each other. In 1854, we are told that « there are now in Bengal five Government Anglo-vernacular colleges, and zillah schools have been established in almost every district. » Again; « in the Presidency of Bombay the character of the education conveyed in the Anglo-vernacular colleges is almost, if not quite, equal to that in Bengal. » (3) While of Madras we are told, that, « in 1853, there were two thousand pupils receiving daily instruction in *three* missionary schools, » (4) to say nothing of many other institutions of a similar class. In the single city of Benares there were « fourteen mission schools. » From these examples we may judge what the united efforts of the Government, and of twenty two rival Societies,

(1) *Les Anglais et l'Inde*, ch. III, p. 169.
(2) *Travels in India*, by Leopold Von Orlich, vol. II, p. 267.
(3) *Parliamentary Papers*, vol. XXXXVII, p. 17. (1854).
(4) Mead, *The Sepoy Revolt*, ch. XXIII, p. 308.

were likely to have attempted in other parts of India.

In addition to their own resources, they have, in one instance at least, appropriated those of Catholics. « The La Martinière School of Calcutta, the annual income of which can be little short of 10,000 l. was founded and endowed exclusively by a Catholic, the late General Lamartine. It was well known that the General's intention was to found and endow an establishment for Catholic Education, yet the principles on which this school is conducted are such that no Catholic can profit by it! » (1) And now for the *results* of Protestant education, whether imparted by the civil power, or by the missionary bodies.

« It is the universal confession, » says Dr Grant, « that but very few of the children so educated embrace the Christian faith. » (2) Other witnesses, better acquainted with the facts than this Anglican clergyman, will now tell us, that the native pupils not only decline to adopt the religion of their teachers, but learn, almost without exception, to abandon all religion whatever.

« A very important question, » says the Lutheran Von Orlich, in 1845, « is; What influence has education produced on the religious sentiments of the Indians? It has hitherto appeared, that the young people grow up as Deists, and, in some cases, *have even converted their parents and relations to deism;* » (3) yet, « with very few exceptions, neither they nor their families have neglected the religious usages

(1) *Notes on the Present Position of Catholics in India*, by the Revd W. Strickland, p. 18. (1853).

(2) Lecture IV, p. 254.

(3) *Travels* etc., vol. III, p. 276.

of their ancestors. » « This assertion, » we are told, « is painfully corroborated by the Rev. J. Weitbrecht, and by other highly credible authorities. » Mr Weitbrecht's own words are these; « There are instances on record of Hindoo fathers forbidding their sons to visit the Calcutta College, on the ground that *all* the pupils who attain some proficiency *become nasticks, i. e. atheists.* » (1)

If it be asked, why any native students are induced to frequent institutions of which these are the admitted fruits, Von Orlich answers, « only in the prospect of obtaining a situation, and the majority belong to the lower classes. » And this is confirmed by all Anglo-Indian writers. « It has opened to them a new source of honorable livelihood, » says Mr Johnson. (2) « In the Byculla schools, » we learn from another writer, « after attaining a certain age, the male pupils are apprenticed to various trades, and the females marry, or obtain situations as servants. » (3)

But these considerations do not always affect the children of high-caste parents, many of whom are conveyed to school in their carriages, and become pupils solely for the sake of acquiring knowledge and intellectual training. It appears, however, that there is no difference in the final results of the education which they receive, and which are thus described. « The results have been, » says Mr Knighton, in 1855, « great intellectual acuteness, and total want of moral principle; *utter infidelity in religion*,

(1) *Missions in Bengal*, ch. v, 219.
(2) *The Stranger in India*, vol. II, ch. III, p. 137.
(3) *A Year and a Day in the East*, ch. III, p. 49.

combined with an enthusiastic worship of reason and money. » (1) « Even under the most favourable circumstances, » says Sir Emerson Tennent, in 1850, « the results have been deplorably meagre in relation to conversion from the native superstitions. » (2) Out of 17,360 pupils in schools maintained at the public expense, only 336 even professed, in any sense whatever, the official religion, (3) and we know what the profession was worth.

Nor is there any distinction whatever between the influence of government and of missionary education. « Missionary schools, » we are told by a high authority, « do not make more converts to Christianity than Government schools. A most zealous missionary in India assured me, with tears in his eyes, that, after twenty-five years experience, he looked upon the conversion of the Hindoos, under present circumstances, to be hopeless, without the interposition of a miracle. » (4) Yet the pupils in these schools read the Scriptures daily for years, and receive with perfect submission whatever lessons their teachers propose to them! Thus a Presbyterian writer, who was for six years the associate and advocate of Protestant missionaries, records of Dr Duff's Free Church College at Calcutta, — « out of one thousand pupils only about twelve are professed Christians; » although, « when they can understand English, they are instructed exactly as Christian boys would be — in fact they are better instructed in

(1) *Tropical Sketches*, preface, p. VII.
(2) *Christianity in Ceylon*, ch. VI, p. 276.
(3) *Parliamentary Papers*, vol. XXXXVIII, p. 176.
(4) *The Times*, November 24, 1858.

Christianity than half the young men at home. »

At Baranagar, we are told by the same writer, the pupils « displayed a perfect knowledge of all the doctrines on which they were questioned, especially the cardinal point of justification, *which they explained in the clearest manner.* » (1) Yet not one of them was a Christian, nor had the slightest intention of becoming one.

At Benares, where there are fourteen missionary schools, « all the boys read the New Testament... Not one conversion has *ever* taken place in this school. »

At Bombay, « no conversions have as yet taken place at the Established Kirk's school. » Yet the scholars were not only diligently catechised, and instructed in the Bible, but taught to quote the usual array of texts against « the Romanists who worship images. » Of the American schools in the same city, the missionaries themselves reported thus to their employers some years ago. « The schools are well attended. Many of the children learn rapidly. We cannot cheer your heart by telling you of the conversion of *any* of them. » (2)

At Loodiana, we are told by M^rs^ Mackenzie of *baptized* children, « none of whom had any acquaintance with the Gospel. » It is true that she adds, that many of the « so-called Christian children » of Europeans in India have still less.

Of another establishment in the North of India, the same witness observes; « The orphan school here is really disheartening to the missionaries. M^rs^ Ru-

(1) *Six Years in India*, vol. I, ch. II, p. 84.

(2) *Foreign Missionary Chronicle*, June 1833, p. 45. (Pittsburgh.)

dolph told me that she had taught them Scripture history until she was quite weary of repeating it. »

Yet these orphan schools, which exist in various parts of India, were the latest experiment of Protestant missionaries. Baron Von Schonberg relates that at Secundra, in a season of famine, « six hundred children were *purchased* for 1800 rupees, which certainly was not an exorbitant price. » (1) But the same deadly blight which has withered every other scheme fell on this; for Mrs Mackenzie assures us, that « children baptized in Orphan Schools often turn out ill, and then bring much greater discredit on the Christian Church than would be possible if they had never been nominal members of it. » Other writers report, as we have seen, that these orphans invariably return to the religion of their parents, and generally display worse qualities than those who have never received missionary instruction.

And so well known are these frightful results of Protestant education in India, that even the men who are most concerned to hide the unwelcome truth are constrained to admit it. Thus Dr Bickersteth, at a meeting of what is called the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, confessed of the Hindoos, « They unlearn their own superstitions, but they do not learn the Gospel of Christ. They become, in fact, intellectual, accomplished unbelievers. » (2) And it is to England, and to her emissaries, that this people, once conspicuous among all heathen nations for deep religious instinct, owe this irreparable calamity. « Per-

(1) *Travels in India and Kashmir*, vol. I, ch. x, p. 193.
(2) *The Times*, October 25, 1858.

haps it is not known, » said Dr Samuel Wilberforce, in 1855, « that there has been a greater reprinting in India of the deistical works which have been published in this country than was ever known to be printed in this country. » (1) And this is confirmed by a communication sent from India to the American Board of Foreign Missions, which reports, that « probably no English works are read more among the native population than those of infidel writers : » (2) so that when the Parsis of Bombay had not long ago a public controversy with certain Protestant missionaries, their chief advocate « endeavoured to refute Christianity by using the arguments which Voltaire employed against Catholics. » (3) The Hindoo, more logical than his feeble teachers, turns against Christianity the very weapons with which they would arm him against the Church.

The remaining chapters of these volumes will more and more confirm the fact, already proved for China and India, that Protestantism is every where generating in pagan lands worse evils than those which it seeks to remedy. « In almost every part of India, » says the Rev. Mr Percival, « the spread of the English language and literature is rapidly altering the phases of the Hindu mind, giving it a sceptical, infidel cast. » (4) « Protestant education, » observes a native teacher, employed by one of the sects, « has unsettled the minds of thousands of young men in the religion of their ancestors, a thing in itself not to be deplored;

(1) *The Times*, October 27.
(2) *History of the American Bible Society*, ch. XXVII, p. 247.
(3) Mohl, *Rapports faits à la Société Asiatique*, tome II, p. 45.
(4) *The Land of the Veda*, ch. XX, p, 472.

but it has sent forth hundreds of others as confirmed infidels. » (1) « The schools form admirable champions of temporalities, » says an experienced observer, — speaking of all « under the clergy of different denominations, » — « *and nothing else.* » (2) « Results, as they have hitherto manifested themselves, » says the Rev. Mr Clarkson, « are unfavourable, not only to the Gospel, but to the principles of natural religion. » And then this missionary continues as follows. « Some have argued that the Indians, by receiving an education which undermines their superstitions, are being prepared for the reception of Christianity. We believe that they are being prepared for occupying a position *extremely antagonistic to it.* Several documents from missionaries at Bombay, Poona, Surat, Calcutta, Delhi, Madras, and Benares, corroborate all that I have here stated... None can doubt that infidelity, in its most absolute sense, is on the increase. *There is no connection between the natives ceasing to be Hindoos, and becoming Christians.* » (3) « Nana Sahib, » says Mr Bruce Norton, in 1858, « has been called ' a specimen of an educated native ' — and perhaps, morally, he is so. » (4)

And this is the language of all the witnesses, of whatever class. « A missionary may write home, » observes a well known authority, « that he has made a Christian, when, in reality, he ought to state that he has destroyed a Hindoo. » (5) « We find a Hin-

(1) *A Sermon*, by Narayan Sheshadri, p. 40. (1853).
(2) *Observations on India*, by a Resident there many years, p. 33.
(3) *India and the Gospel*, Lect. v, 279.
(4) *Topics for Indian Statesmen*, ch, XII, p. 375.
(5) *Edinburgh Review*, vol. XII, p. 177.

doo, » said Mr Leith, before a Committee of the House of Commons, « and we leave an atheist. » (1) « There is little doubt, » is the declaration of another writer, « that the present generation of educated natives will become deists. » (2) « It seems to be universally admitted, » we learn from Miss Martineau, « that the whole intelligent population which has been lifted out of the indigenous system of thought by education *has no religion whatever.* » (3) « The educated native, » the House of Lords was lately assured, « is either a hypocrite or a latitudinarian, with the heart of an atheist under the robe of an idolater, » and « the greater body are but too surely tending to a state morally *lower* than that from which education rescued them. » (4) Lastly, a native « Scholar of the Elphinstone Institution, » in which « every boy is made thoroughly conversant with the Holy Scriptures, » (5) reveals this horrible result of Protestant education upon the mass of pupils, of all classes, throughout Hindostan; — « They have no more faith in Jesus Christ than in their own religion. They believe the Jesus of the English and the Krishna of the Hindus to be alike impostors. » (6)

There is something in these appalling facts which defies comment. If every Protestant missionary in

(1) Quoted by Mr Bruce Norton, ch. XII, p. 355.
(2) Stocqueler, *Hand Book of India*, p. 532,
(3) *Suggestions towards the future government of India*, p. 110.
(4) *Speech of the Duke of Marlborough*, *The Times*, July 3, 1860.
(5) *Life in Bombay*, ch. XII, p. 237.
(6) *Six Years in India*, vol. III, ch. VIII, p. 277.

India had been, from the first, such as Middleton, or Kiernander, or Buchanan, even then we might have marvelled at results at once so uniform and so deadly. But among the agents of Protestant Societies there have been men, of various sects, who sincerely desired to do good, and who were qualified, both by education and by personal character, to exert a certain moral influence upon the Hindoo. Yet they can only create death! It is in the air, and under their feet. It exhales from their lips, and is generated by their touch. Even the Hindoo, the most profoundly religious of all non-christian races, loses every vestige of faith as soon as he opens his ears to them. The man who yesterday was absorbed in prayer, or lacerated his flesh to propitiate a God whom he feared without knowing, to day laughs aloud both at Christ and Vishnu. In the interval, a Protestant missionary has passed by him, and he has become another man. For years he grows up under his guidance and instruction; he studies with him the mysteries of Christian doctrine; he penetrates the secrets of European science; and when at last his pupillage is over, and he closes behind him the door of his school, he is found to be only a sensualist and a blasphemer. Whence this horrible blight? Whence this contrast between the Hindoo, taught by the missionaries of the Cross, and clinging with invincible constancy to the faith of Christ through every trial which can befall him, — « really and truly christian, » as even a pagan native has told us; « insisting, » as Sir William Sleeman reports, even when employed by the English, « upon going to divine service at the prescribed hours; » and sometimes displaying, as Father

St. Cyr observes, the crowning grace of religious vocation ; — and the same Hindoo, moulded from infancy, fashioned and instructed, by the Protestant minister, only to become at last more guilty and more profane than he was before? This is a question which we shall examine with more advantage, when we have traced the same fact in every other region of the earth.

And now, if any have hitherto doubted, in good faith, what was the real character of the great outbreak of the sixteenth century, and whose work it was designed to do in the world, here is one more fact which may assist their judgment. Once more we have seen the Church and the Sects *in action*. Once more we have applied the divine rule, *By their fruits ye shall know them*. We have seen what the Catholic Missionaries in India have been, and what they have accomplished; we have seen also by what methods the Protestant emissaries seek to approach the Hindoo, and what is the fruit of their work. Powerless to win the heathen to the Christianity which their own example, their shallow and incoherent philosophy, their luxurious habits, and their mutual conflicts and jealousies, have taught him to despise, they have been only too successful in impeding the work of those who alone could have set the captive free, and in adding to the original vices of the Indian the new crimes of hypocrisy, intemperance, and unbelief. They have taught him indeed that his gods are impostors, but only by convincing him that their own are no less so. This, as they freely admit, is the beginning and end of all their influence upon him.

The reader has, then, before him the materials upon which to exercise once more that judicial function which it deeply concerns him to discharge with deliberate care; and as he reviews the facts which have now been related, and the amazing contrast which they reveal, will perhaps approach the consideration of the same history in other lands with a deepening conviction, that we have fulfilled our promise of inviting him to « a new controversy, differing from all others in this, that God has already taken it out of the hands of men to decide it Himself. »

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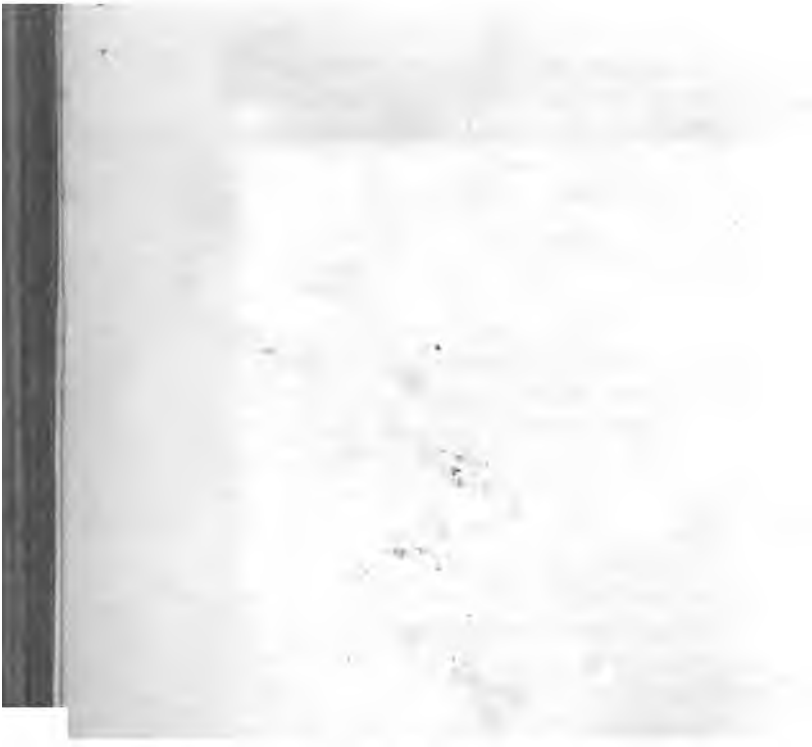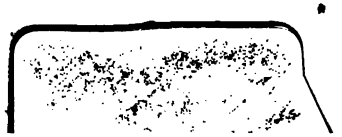
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